The Lost Gallery: John Garstang and Turkey – A Postcolonial Reading

Volume 1 of 2

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Table of contents

List of tables

List of abbreviations

3D-LS	3-dimensional Laser Scanning
ACE	School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology, University of Liverpool
AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council, United Kingdom
AIA	Archaeological Institute of America
AOS	American Oriental Society
ASOR	American School of Oriental Research
BA	Bronze Age
BIAA	British Institute (of Archaeology) at Ankara
BM	British Museum, London
BSAJ	British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem
DO-G	*Deutsche Orient-Geselleschaft* (German Oriental Institute)
EBA	Early Bronze Age
EBAF	L'Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française
EMB	Empire Marketing Board
GM	Garstang Museum
IA	Iron Age
IoA	Institute of Archaeology (Liverpool)
LAAA	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology Journal
LCMC	Liverpool City Museums Committee
NML	National Museums Liverpool
PAM	Palestine Archaeological Museum

PEF The Palestine Exploration Fund

POS Palestine Oriental Society

PRP People's Republican Party (ALSO CHP: *Cumhüriyet Halk Partisi)*

SEM Scanning electron microscopy

SC Special Collections

UCL University College London

UoL University of Liverpool

VandA Victoria and Albert Museum, London

WM World Museum, National Museums Liverpool

Context and acknowledgments

Thesis research context

This thesis represents the written output of a funded Collaborative Doctoral Research project awarded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) in 2008. It was supported by the University of Liverpool (UoL) and National Museums Liverpool (NML). The practical aspect involved full curatorial training, experience and support provided by NML through the Antiquities department at the World Museum (WM). This involved researching the remaining 'Garstang Hittite Collection', which NML owns, and related archival material with the view to provide fuller contextual and archaeological information for each artefact. It was then processed digitally through NML's database system, MIMSY XG. This process involved the professional photographing of each element as provided by John Robert Peterson. The practical aspect of this research provided the great opportunity to work with Annemarie La Pensée at the National Conservation Centre in 2009, on methods of non-contact 3-dimensional laser scanning and reproduction for the purpose of authentication. The results were presented at the British Museum and at the University of London the following year.

Complementary curatorial training involved completing the NML Collections Management Program (2010-11) which comprehensively covered practical and theoretical requirements of being a curator within a national museum in Britain. I was kindly permitted to shadowed curator Linda Pittwood at the Walker Art Gallery during the process of installation of the British Museum touring exhibition 'High Kicks and Low Life Toulouse-Lautrec Prints' in 2010. This experience was followed by a research post as part of the team led by Alan M. Greaves for the exhibition 'The Hittites are Coming!' at the Victoria Gallery and Museum (UoL), funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund. This features artefacts from the 'Garstang Hittite Collection', and from the British Museum, as well as a portrayal of his career as an archaeologist in Liverpool. A separate project which digitised John Garstang's photograph and slide archives (Garstang Museum, UoL) made up another aspect of this exhibition.

Personal acknowledgements

Primarily I am immensely grateful to my supervisor Alan Greaves, who provided unstinting positive support, encouragement, and opportunities to develop academically at every step of the way. I thank Phil Freeman, my secondary supervisor, for all the enthusiasm and generosity with archival research and all things 'John Garstang'.

I give my thanks to Ashley Cooke, at World Museum (NML), who, in collaboration with Alan Greaves, provided me with the opportunity of attaining this PhD. Thanks are also due to Matthew Ponting for providing his expertise and assistance with scientific analysis at the School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology (UoL). At the National Conservation Centre (NML), I am grateful to Annemarie La Pensée as an enthusiastic colleague working on the 3-D laser scanning aspect both in Liverpool and London. At the Victoria Gallery and Museum, (UoL) a huge thank you goes to Leonie Sedman, Kirsty Hall and Moira Lindsey who are simply a fantastic and lovely team to work with. I am very grateful to have had the opportunity to get to know you and for all the professional and personal support you so generous offered me. In Ankara I thank the staff at the British Institute who generously and repeatedly provided me with assistance, both academic and personal. The recommendations of Alexandrina Buchanan and Rupert L. Chapman III have been invaluable.

My greatest thanks go to my parents, who set me on this track in life and always provided encouragement and sympathy. Also my brother, who as a fellow postgraduate student, understood all my woes and worries. My parents-in-law greatly deserve all my thankfulness for vast amounts of support, assistance and encouragement from the very beginning.

Finally, and most significantly, my utmost gratitude and love to my husband, James, who made all of this possible over many, many years. No words suffice. Thomas, my son, you are my energy, joy and laughter in a world of paper and words. Grazzi.

Introduction

This thesis proposes a revisionist contribution to knowledge of the historiography of archaeology by extending the current accepted concepts of postcoloniality to 'self-colonialism' in the context of Kemâlist Turkey; it suggests ways of differentiating between individual archaeologists operating within a Western colonial framework and thus eschewing blanket judgements applied to archaeologists subject to the same political criteria; and by analysing the relationship between the knowledge domains of academia and museums during the first half of the 20th century as informed by earlier socio-political context of the late Victorian era in Britain. This is not a traditional biographical account of John Garstang and Volume Two is not a comprehensive artefact catalogue of Hittite artefacts held at the Liverpool Public Museum.

This thesis analyses the work of the British archaeologist John Garstang on the Neo-Hittites, within the context of the Ottoman Empire, Edwardian and early 20th century Britain, leading on to 1930s Liverpool and Kemâlist Turkey. Herein I recognise three phases of Garstang's archaeological methodology: firstly a colonialist methodology of archaeological research and excavation for material benefit of private excavation committee funders (Chapter One); this is followed by phase two, Garstang excavating in Turkey without the possibility of exporting artefacts and thus excavating and publishing new knowledge in collaboration with the Ottoman Antiquities officials and the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology (Chapter Two). The final phase focuses upon Garstang's establishment of foreign institutes of archaeology and museums (Palestine and Turkey) as a method for preservation and restoration of ownership of material and knowledge (Chapter Five) which, to an extent, mirrored Britain's contemporaneous status of restitution as the Empire disassembled.

These arguments are counterbalanced by an examination of aspects of the careers of Osman Hamdi Bey and Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk and their interactions with John Garstang and his work, as both a counterpoint, and as a means to address both the growing awareness in the Near East of the heritage of the peoples of the region,

and their increasing need for and efforts to claim ownership of this heritage. This reclamation was applied to radically alter social and political structures in the Near East in contrast with the political and social purposes of archaeology and heritage in the West.

The evidence for the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery reveals the British museological perspective on the use of archaeology during the early 20th century (1929-1941) as the direct outcome of the preceding Edwardian and, to an extent, Victorian principles, which informed the methodologies of Garstang and the museum curators, as well as the socio-political context which framed their decisions and beliefs. Additionally, the archaeological and museum sectors, by their very nature, were conservative and traditionalist. Therefore museological interpretations of the gallery and the museum herein can only be credibly read through the applied and contextualised perspectives envisaged through the sociological characteristics of these preceding periods.

Conversely, a reading of reclaimed 'Hittite' cultural ownership in Turkey provides a balancing perspective of a lost legacy of ownership of geographical knowledge which held a prime role at the political forefront of European imperialism. Archaeologists wielded the power to apply their research with real political consequences, either in support or against the status quo. Ultimately, for both Eastern and Western societies involved with the region, the ideas held about the material studied by the archaeologists, the way that material is treated, and the way it is presented and received by the various 'publics' involved can and does shape relations between these 'publics', with long lasting cultural and political implications. It is shown here how this same archaeological data, presented simultaneously in East and West could be interpreted in three different contexts towards the investigation of the value of archaeology to state-building. These applied socio-political contexts are primarily based upon selected evidence of John Garstang's career through his photographic record, publications, archives and legacies in the Near East, mainly Turkey. This thesis will conclude that Garstang chose to work towards new 'modern' ethics of archaeological knowledge

decolonisation and dispersal through museums, publications and the establishment of international institutes of archaeology.

Methodology

The conclusions of this thesis result from a multi-disciplinary approach, namely three points of research. Firstly historical sources such as the original gallery guidebook, artefact reference cards and excavation reports provide a contextual understanding of the place held by Hittite archaeology and the 'Garstang Hittite Collection' in particular, providing the European social and political circumstances as construed through postcolonial theory. Secondly this is augmented through archival and photographic sources which provide the personal operative contexts for John Garstang as archaeologist in Britain and Turkey. Third this is supplemented by a scientific analysis of a selection of surviving artefacts from the 'Garstang Hittite Collection' by scanning electron microscope and 3-dimensional laser scanning technology with digitization. This process provides the scientific evidence for British acquisitional criteria in the Near East in the first instance and secondly reveals a case of native "autoethnographic expression" (Pratt, 2003, p. 7) where Bronze Age artefacts were recycled into Near Eastern Hellenic and Roman forgeries catering for the Classical tastes of the European antiquities market. The term 'Hittite' here has a dual meaning. The material artefacts are now known to be Neo-Hittite or Syro-Hittite (c.1200–800 B.C.); however this was not known when Garstang acquired the collection exhibited in Liverpool. Secondly, in the context of Turkish nationhood 'Hittite' refers to a collective inherited culture rather than a specific period in history.

Archives and collections utilised

Relevant collections and archival sources in the forms of correspondence, ledgers, catalogues, field notes and photographic collections held within various stores form the primary basis of this research. This following section reflects on and describes the challenges encountered when using manuscript and other primary material held by institutions with which John Garstang was associated. Four separate archival *fonds* and collections of informally collected and managed material were

consulted during the course of this research. This brief administrative history provides an outline of their content and, importantly, of the conditions under which they are kept and accessed, and in some cases how those conditions have changed during the period in which I accessed them. This information will not only help the reader to locate these documents should they wish to consult the primary sources referred to in this thesis but also explains the difficulty encountered when trying to provide accurate references when citing sources held in unmanaged collections with varying degrees of accessibility with no coherent referencing system in place.

The Danson family archive is held by National Museums Liverpool, Merseyside Maritime Museum, Maritime Archives and Library and is referenced as D/D. The pertinent *sub fonds* for this thesis were D/D/V - eight files relating to Sir Francis Chatillon Danson, and *sub fond* D/D/VI comprising four files relating to his wife Lady Edith Danson, with each file holding various bundles of documents. Items within these bundles were not individually referenced at the point when I had access to these folders in 2009 and 2010. The references I provide in this thesis are those given by NML however I have added individual document numbers as given by Dr Phil Freeman in 2009 during research for his forthcoming biography of John Garstang (Freeman, *pers. comm*.). This is an informal catalogue building on NML's archive references which is available from Freeman. This material was used in particular to provide evidence for aspects pertaining to John Garstang's early career in Liverpool (Chapters One and Two).

The second collection of archival material accessed was the National Museums Liverpool, Antiquities Collection. This comprises various folders (number unknown) held at the World Museum within the Antiquities department regarding the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery dating from 1929 until 1941. This material was particularly pertinent to Chapter Four, Chapter Six, and Volume Two of this thesis, which provide the scientific re-creation and interpretation of this lost gallery. At the point of consulting this collection (2009) there was no archival system in place. I was kindly provided with the relevant folders and individual documents by the Keeper of Antiquities, Dr Ashley Cooke. A complete collection of

the ‘Annual Reports of the Committee of the Free Public Museums of the City of Liverpool’ is also held here, the years spanning from 1898 to 1941 being of specific interest as they addressed the primary socio-political context of the establishment of the Public Museum, the collections contributed, the galleries opened, lectures held therein, as well as visitor reports. Furthermore this source specifically identifies the social background and intentions of those running these municipal facilities over the years. I have attempted to give the fullest information possible when referring to these original sources to aid their location by interested scholars in future.

The University College London Special Collections Archives’ Garstang files were also utilised. Their reference number is UCLCA/IA/A/17 and this collection consists of 14 boxes, 6 rolls, and 5 outsized items. The material is archaeological data for the sites of Beisan, Boğazköy, Beth-Pelet, Hazor, Jericho, Sakçagözü, and Ascalon (years 1907-1921). It is subject to restricted access. At the point of consultation (2011) there was no referencing below box level to allow for precise identification of the individual documents. Therefore I have attempted to give the fullest amount of descriptive detail to help future identification. During the period of my research the UCL archives were physically moved from one storage facility to another.

Finally, I have attempted to use the collections held in the Garstang Museum at the University of Liverpool. Access to these collections is problematic, but there are three levels of ‘finding aid': (a) the archival catalogues and digital surrogates of Garstang’s photographs of Turkey, (b) Dr Phil Freeman’s research notes on the collection and (c) direct access to the collection itself.

The Garstang Museum’s collections of photographic slides and glass plate negatives taken by Garstang and others spans many years and geographic regions. They are unreferenced and un-catalogued, with the exception of the Hittite and Turkish collections which have been recently professionally catalogued to the relevant International Standard of Archival Descriptions (General) – ISAD(G). This systematic cataloguing was completed in 2012 as part of the larger Lost Gallery project, of which this thesis is a part. For this reason the images included in this thesis have

complete references; this has not been possible for much of the other material held by the Museum. Secondly, a series of research notes and transcripts (effectively an informal catalogue) of some documents in the Garstang Museum collections has been compiled by Dr Phil Freeman, who is deputy director of the Garstang Museum, as part of his personal research. Many of the references I provide in this thesis were provided by him from his notes. I have noted in the thesis where I am giving Freeman's references, but I have not been able to directly access the original sources myself and the accuracy of the referencing is restricted to that used in Freeman's notes (e.g. PF #71).

The main body of the Garstang Museum collection consists of miscellaneous un-catalogued documents relating to the establishment of the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology, letters by and to Garstang, letters by and to relevant contemporary Institute staff members, letters by and to the Liverpool Public Museum staff, letters by and to members of Garstang's various excavation committees and contacts abroad, accessions records, as well as reports of his excavations and documents relating to the damage sustained to the Institute and its contents and the 'Hittite' collection during WWII.

This unmanaged assortment of documents relates both to John Garstang's career and the administration of the former Institute of Archaeology, now the department of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology (ACE), part of the School of Histories, Languages, and Cultures. The material has never been systematically archived and there is no referencing system in place. During the research for this project any form of access to the collections of the Garstang Museum was restricted by the Museum's then Registrar (Ms Patricia Winker, retired 2010), and subsequently denied. I have been able to briefly view the original documents on just one occasion during 2009 and I was able to see and get scanned versions of carbon copies of typed letters written by Garstang to Pears that were loaned by the Garstang Museum to the Victoria Gallery and Museum for its exhibition *The Lost Gallery: John Garstang and the Discovery of the Hittite World* (2011-2013). Since 2009, to my knowledge, the collection has been moved three times within ACE, while various temporary members of staff have intellectually attempted to re-order

parts of the collection at least twice. As of May 2014, the Garstang Museum collection is still awaiting appropriate premises and cataloguing to professionally-accepted standards which will allow for its research potential to be realised.

The Sydney Jones Library Special Collections at the University of Liverpool holds an extensive collection the Liverpool Museums, Libraries and Arts Committee minutes, as well as 28 volumes of the Liverpool Annals of Anthropology and Archaeology Journal published by the Institute of Archaeology until 1946 (ARCH3.A58), and other publications by Garstang and his colleagues.

The British Institute of Archaeology archives in Ankara and London were consulted regarding establishment documents held at the offices in Ankara (known as 'Correspondence file S' and 'Excavation report S') while 1947 to 1957 'British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara Annual Reports' held in London have no archive references (Claire McCafferty, BIAA London manager, January 2014). Various digitised electronic sources now online were also utilised such as *The Times Digital Archive* and *JSTOR*. The Liverpool Central Library holds a collection of the Liverpool Echo and Post newspapers in microfilm - the 1931 and 1941 issues were consulted regarding the local reaction to the opening and destruction of the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery at the Liverpool Public Museum. These are archived according to title, month and year.

The Liverpool Records Archives were consulted regarding the establishment of the Walker Art Gallery, 1877, namely archive H.F708.5DOC.

What artefacts remain from the original 'Garstang Hittite Collection' of 1941 were examined, photographed and digitally accessioned at the National Museums Liverpool storage site as part of this doctoral study. A selection of this artefact information comprises volume two of this thesis (catalogue). The selection depended upon the utility of the artefact to act in support of the main thesis conclusions extrapolated in the first volume, as well as artefacts which have not having been published elsewhere (see David G. Hogarth, 1920; Briggs Buchanan and Peter R.S. Moorey, 1980, 1985, 1988; Robert Fischer, 2003; Stuart Campbell and Alexandra Fletcher, 2010) and / or were lost through the blitz attack of 1941 in

Liverpool. Thus this catalogue seeks to broaden the knowledge-pool of Neo-Hittite collections in Britain as part of the curatorial experience gained through this collaborative research project with National Museums Liverpool.

Structure of the thesis

The main thesis (Volume One) is divided into seven chapters creating a narrative arc from the mid-18th century until the 1950s. The first two chapters provide the context of the archaeologist, John Garstang, beginning his career in Edwardian Britain and the Near East showcasing selected case studies which contextualise the colonial methodologies and necessities leading to the development of archaeological collections, museums and university archaeology research methods of the mid-20th century. These themes lead on to a deeper discussion in Chapter Three of inherited aspects of imperialism and colonialism present without and within the development of museums as social tools that both defined and reinforced social parameters in Liverpool and London, and how their functions in these cities differed from each other. Chapter Four provides an in-depth postcolonial analysis of the Public Museum of Liverpool galleries, its collections, visitor demographic, staff and its role within the city of Liverpool during the 1930s, a period which, despite being clearly based upon the preceding Victorian and Edwardian cultural beliefs, display nuanced variations of those inherited metanarratives reflecting the socio-political transitions outside. Chapter Five provides the counterbalance to the cultural phenomenology of museums and archaeology in Britain at the far western end of Europe by introducing the idea of self-colonisation in Turkey through the politicization and reception of Hittite heritage, especially during the Kemâlist reformation period, where Garstang's methods, excavations and publications played a significant role in Turkey's regaining ownership of identity and territory. The following Chapter Six provides the scientific basis for these postcolonialist readings which informed the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery in Liverpool during 1931 to 1941, as well as an insight into political methods of self-colonisation in Turkey. Chapter Seven concludes with a discussion of the impact and legacies of Garstang's

methodologies, knowledge de-colonisation and the role of public institutions in societies then and now.

Volume Two aims to regain the material content lost during the World War II 1941 blitz attack in Liverpool when the museum was hit with devastating consequences. This volume focuses upon the Hittite displays held in the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery. This provides the artefactual context to the 'Garstang Hittite Collection' then and of what remains now.

The archaeological sites referred to in this thesis have been known by a variety of different names over the years. I have attempted to use the most recently accepted version of the native language in all cases, apart from when directly quoting a primary source. The most frequent place names herein are Alacahöyük, also known as Alaca Höyük, Alacahüyük and Euyuk and Eyuk by Garstang. Boğazköy - variations include Boghaz-Keui as given by Garstang, Boghaz Keui, Boghazköy and Bogazkale, which is effectively the modern Turkish village closest to this site. Coba Höyük is referred to as Jobba Eyuk by Garstang. Variations of Hattuša include Hattusha as given by Garstang, Hattuşaş, and Hattusa. Karabel is also known as Kara-Bel. Sakçagözü was given as Sakje-Geuzi by Garstang and further known as Sakçagözë, Sakjegeuzi, and Sakçe-Gözü. Sinjerli is referred to by variations of Zincirli Höyük in various sources, while Marash is also found as Maraş. Sonruz Höyük was referred to as Songrus Eyuk by Garstang and also known as Songrus Höyük. The site of Yazılıkaya, is Iasilly Kaya by Garstang, and also Iasily Kaia. I refer to Istanbul by this name in all cases, not Constantinople regardless of time period discussed. Furthermore, what is now known as the Garstang Museum at the University of Liverpool was also referred to as the University of Liverpool Museum. The municipal archaeology museum in Liverpool has been referred to by various titles since its inception. It is called the Liverpool Public Museum in this thesis primarily because it was known as this during the period most pertinent to this discussion (1931-1941). It has been otherwise referred to as the Derby Museum of the Borough of Liverpool, the City of Liverpool Museum, the Free Public Museum of Liverpool and Liverpool Town Museum. Since 2005 it has been known as the World Museum, making part of the National Museums Liverpool group.

Literature review

Modern publications were consulted to provide specific contexts and insight into aspects of politics, anthropology and archaeology. Main bodies of work regarding the history and practice of archaeology have been published by Lynne Teather (1983), Bruce Graham Trigger (1989), Michael Shanks (1997), Donald Reid (2002), Bruce Redford (2008), Janetta Rebold Benton (2012) and Nicole Chevalier (2012).

Display of archaeology in museums in various circumstances and for varied effects have been discussed by authors such as Richard Garnett (1899), Nimet Özgüç (1946), Alma S. Wittlin (1949), Hamit Z. Koşay (1979), Ronald F. Ovenell (1986), P Connor (1989), Ian Jenkins (1992), Flora E.S. Kaplan (1994), A. Coombes (1997), Hans Güterbock (1943, 1956, 1997), Alain Nave (1998), Paul Greenhalgh (2000), Eileen Hooper-Greenhill (1992, 2000), Ludmilla Jordanova (2000), Zeynep Kezer (2000), Arthur MacGregor (2001), Kate Hill (2005), Wendy Shaw (2000, 2003, 2007, 2008) and Amy Woodson-Boulton (2008, 2012, 2013) amongst others.

Hittite archaeology was published initially by William Wright and Archibald Sayce (1884), John Garstang (1910; 1929; 1959), Oliver R. Gurney (1952; 1959), Hugo Winckler , C. Leonard Woolley (1914; 1921, 1922), C. W. Ceram (aka Kurt Wilhelm Marek, 1929, 1955), Billie Jean Collins (2007), Peter Moorey (1980), Nicholas Postgate (1999, 2005), Trevor Bryce (2002, 2012) amongst many others who publish in English and thus, here, through necessity, I omit the very many who have published in German (e.g. Felix von Luschan, Otto Puchstein, Hugo Winkler, Kurt Bittel, Peter Neve, Jurgen Seeher, Ali and Belkıs Dinçol, Andreas Schachner, Bedřich Hrozný), French (e.g. Charles Texier, Raci Temizer, Emmanuel Laroche), Italian (Massimiliano Marazzi) and Turkish (e.g. Theodor Makridi, Çiğdem Atakuman).

Regarding the socio-political Turkish (Kemâlist) process of identity and nationalist reformation, and its relationship with Hittite archaeology main authors include Halil Edhem (1935), Afet İnan (1937), Remzi Oğuz Arik (1937), Mehmet Gönlübol (1982), Ernet Gellner (1983), Kadioğlu Ayşe (1996), Ingo Haar (2000), Andrew Mango (2004), Büşra Ersanli (2006), Mustafa Bilgin (2007), Selin A. Atlıman (2008), Çigdem

Atakuman (2008), Sak Güven (2010), Edhem Eldem (2004, 2011), Zafer Çelik (2003, 2011), Zeyneb Bahrani (2011), Ahmet T. Kuru and Alfred Stepan (2013).

The postcolonial observations and conclusions presented in the following thesis fall broadly into three theoretical themes. These are cultural aspects of self-colonisation in Turkey; of colonialism and heritage as present through artefact collections and museums in Europe and Turkey; and the cultural role of British imperialism upon middle and working class sectors in Liverpool. Aspects of self-colonisation from a postcolonial stance have been previously explored by such scholars as Paul Gilroy *(The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, 1993), Ashis Nandy (*The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*, 1998), Lloyd I. Rudolph *(Self as Other: Amar Singh's Diary as Reflexive 'Native' Ethnography, 1997*), and the *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology Special Issue on Post/Coloniality and Subjectivity* (2013, Vol. 33, Iss.3) presents various papers addressing the cultural impact imparted upon nations addressed through the prism of political postcolonial theory.

Colonialism and culture, as interpreted through museums and collections, has been expounded upon by many. Most relevant here are Nicholas Dirks (*Colonialism and Culture*, 1992), based upon Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth,* 1963, Bernard Cohn (*Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, 1996), Annie Coombes (*Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, 1997), Chris Gosden et al. (*Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*, 2006) and others. Also, specifically regarding archaeology as a facilitator of neocolonisation in the Near East, Bruce G. Trigger *Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology* (1994) and Adam H. Becker *Doctoring the Past in the Present* (2005) are most relevant.

The impact of the empire upon Britain has been addressed by authors such as Julie Codell (*Orientalism Transposed: Impact of the Colonies on British Culture*, 1998), Ian Baucom (*Out of Place: Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity*, 1999), and Saree Makdisi (*Making England Western: Occidentalism, Race and Imperial Culture*, 2014) amongst others. Significantly the period's most relevant British author

supporting aspects of Western imperial sustainability and internal social responsibility framing Garstang's inherited archaeological and political circumstances was the philhellene Edward Augustus Freeman - in particular, his *Comparative Politics* (1873), and *Race and Language* (1877), which largely expounded upon the social theories of the Liberal Anglican Thomas Arnold (*The Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Arnold,* 1845), and Friedrich Max Müller (*Lectures on the Science of Language*, 1861). Later scholars exploring these ideas and their impact include Duncan Forbes (*The Liberal Anglican Idea of History*, 1952), J.W. Burrow (*Evolution and Society*, 1966), Christine Bolt (*Victorian Attitudes to Race*, 1971), Martin Bernal (*Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilizations,* 1987), Catherine Hall (*Civilizing Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867*, 2002), Bernard Porter (*The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, 2004), and Peter Mandler (*English National Character*, 2006).

The development of the postcolonialist aspects relevant here were mainly addressed through the philosophical writings of Michel Foucault, from his 1969 treatise *L'archéologie du savoir* (*The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 2008) in particular for his applied "archaeological methodology" (Foucault, 2004, p. xvi). Jacques Derrida's *De la grammatologie* (1967) and *L'écriture et la difference* (1967) (*Writing and Difference*, 1978) especially for his deconstructivist approach to paradigms of identity produced through juxtapositions of received epistemologies in a "system of distinct signs" of aesthetics, taste and culture here represented and reinforced within and without the Liverpool Public Museum as architecturally broadcast from the 1860s onwards (Derrida & Spivak, 1998, pp. 206-7, 216) as well as, to a lesser extent, Martin Heidegger for his deconstructive ontological discourse in *Sein und Zeit* (1927) (*Being and Time* (1962). The main theorists I have engaged with include Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (2007) whose postmodern debates of Eurocentric cultural mimicry I have applied to the case of Westernised self-colonisation in Turkey. This allowed for a rethinking of nationalism and its Hittite archaeological representation as political "constructions" of cultural and national identity. Pierre Bourdieu's *L'amour de l'art: Les Musées d'art européens et leur public* (1969) (*The Love of Art*, 2008), with its analysis of the reflexive

sociological discourse of cultural symbolism and social expectations accorded to and projected by gallery visitors in France (Bourdieu & Darbel, 2008) framed a bilateral interpretation of the role of museums in Britain and Turkey from the viewpoint of both the institutions' staff and their publics. Various publications by Zainab Bahrani were consulted, namely *Conjuring Mesopotamia* (1998), *The Graven Image* (2003) and *Archaeology and Empire* in *Scramble for the Past* (2011). These deconstructive postcolonial methods of interpretation were applied to colonial ontologies present in particular contexts of archaeology, art and architecture. In various ways the writing of the authors above has inspired and provided the postcolonial theoretical perspectives underpinning the following thesis.

Postcolonialism

This thesis frames postcolonial deconstructive discourse to early 20th Century British imperial paradigms with specific emphasis upon institutional constructs in Liverpool while appositioning the contemporaneous duality of a post-Ottoman Turkey disassembling and self-colonising itself in the image of Eurocentric imperialist Westernisation. It addresses the sociological nuances of imperial collapse (through increasing political and economic threat from Russia, Germany, the USA and Japan and political discontent in the Indian sub-continent (Taylor, 1964, pp. 105-38) and middle-class social mobility triggered in this period by unionism, an active suffragist movement, increasing demands for Irish Home Rule and colonial perceptions within an increasingly disaffected society (Masterman, 1909; Argyle, 1994, p. 20). Simultaneously, as a geographical and political counterbalance at the opposite end of Europe, Turkey was cleansing itself of its Ottoman imperial inheritance and dedicating itself to self-imposed Europeanisation through a veneer of retrospective Western historicity inspired by European political philosophies and nationalised archaeology. This thesis accepts and reinforces the propositions that the process of westernisation significantly affected most aspects of Turkish society, the underpinning political systems were transposed from the earlier Ottoman methods and thus remained intact (Parla and Davison, 2004, pp. 52, 69, 98).

Anti-colonial resistance from the aspect of humanitarian moral standards has been in the public realm since at least 1542 when Bartolomé de La Casas protested against colonial practices sanctioned by Spanish rulers and the Vatican. By the 18th century these anti-colonial articulations resulted in the anti-slavery campaigns of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade (est. 1787). In Europe it materialised as two main theoretical branches, one moral and the other economic. Ironically it was capitalist Liberal economists who were the most vociferous critics of colonialism. Bernard Porter (2006) has amply demonstrated that at a political and economic level the Empire was contested in Britain which ironically went against the conservative attitudes present in the very colonies they spoke for (e.g. 18th century Physiocratic and "Manchester School" economists: Ashton, 1930; Charbit, 2002). This political dichotomy was not present in Liverpool where the economy, politics and social culture of the Port, as the second most significant location of Imperial Britain, was integrally involved in the various permutations of Imperialism and all its denotations for its very existence. This is why Thomas Richards' (1992; 1993) global take on British imperialism and his engagement with the roles played by museums contrasting their function in the 'mother-land' with that played in the provinces applies more appropriately here, rather than Porter's identification of the Imperial project as contested (2006), as described above. This specific Liverpudlian heritage, social, and economic contexts had a significant impact upon sectors of British demography, museum metanarratives and the methodologies of John Garstang as discussed in this thesis. Chronologically British imperialism mutated from an aggressive mercantile entity (1700s-1780s), developed into a political presence to protect that profiteering imperative (1815-1860s) and finally assumed moralistic criteria to superficially justify its overbearing presence abroad, but also to subsume cultures in a different form of colonisation (1860s-1920) (Richards, 1993) until the 1940s when India, Burma and Sri Lanka gained their independence. This thesis functions within the latter British imperial chronological parameters of the 1860s until the 1920s which then follow until 1941 in the UK via inherited practice and remnant discourses of colonialism.

The term postcolonialism delineates a dialectical concept which marks the realities of nations and peoples emerging from a Eurocentric imperialistic concept of economic, political and cultural dominion into their own nationalism. It identifies a transformed historical situation as well as new cultural formations in response to the new political environment as well as to the effects of the former colonial hold. It deals with theoretical and political positions conceived through epistemological cultural innovations of the postcolonial position with a political and philosophical critique of the social conditions and criteria of this 'postcoloniality'. As a discussion it necessarily opposes invasive international hegemonic political ideals as imposed by a colonial authority, in all its forms, and deals with ideals of social justice through a new and retrospective epistemology forming a new foundation upon which to build a contestative political identity. This methodology is applied to subjective and material conditions as a critique of the economic, power and cultural structures latent from a previous coloniality. This postcolonial movement first appeared under the title of Marxism (Spivak, 1999, pp. 77-9), and is now applied with equal validity through a vast array of humanities and economic studies through its common discourse for independent and revolutionary interchange giving equal weight to outward historical circumstances as well as to those experienced by the subjects.

Postcolonialism is a fluid discursive subject which is not bound to any specific type of colonialism (foreign or indigenous) within history; however it particularly requires an international arena to provide the catalysts of oppression and liberation which here apply to the idea of self-colonisation following the First World War and the Kemâlist reformation in Turkey. Young's postcolonial reading as variants of political and social oppressions as a consequence of liberation and nationalism (Young, 1990, p. 22) is applied through the prism of Hittite archaeology and symbolism for the purpose of national identity construction and state control in Chapter Five. Furthermore, his interpretation of the role of museums within an imperial political framework and dialectic is particularly pertinent when juxtaposing the roles of the British Museum as the imperial "mother museum", the Liverpool Public Museum as a provincial museum whose establishment was largely dependent upon the city's fortunes as the second city of the empire, and the role played by museums in

Turkey during the deconstruction of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Kemâlist republic as extrapolated in chapters Three and Five.

On the other hand scholars such as Thomas Adams (2004; 2009) and Amara Thornton (2013) apply a theory of 'intercultural transfer' as an analytical concept for the practice of philanthropy aimed generally towards the improvement of society by providing educational services within a symbiotic social framework. This understanding applies fully to the founders (i.e. the 'leisured class') of municipal institutions such as the Liverpool Public Museum, library and art gallery and the collections therein. Adams further defines this concept as the movement of ideas as well as free access to objects between society's 19th and 20th century classes (2009, p. 3). By this point it was museum curators, professional archaeologists, and universities who acted as agents of intercultural transfer on behalf of their sponsors, donors and contributors as will be made apparent primarily in chapters 1, 3 and 4 of this thesis (Thornton, 2013, pp. 2, 7).

Ironically, postcolonial theory, as a form of political reformist activism, has traditionally been engendered in ex-colonial metropolises of the USA and Europe (Young, 2001, pp. 62, 339). This early movement for freedom and equality provided safe and fertile grounds from which have sprung recent influential theorists such as Zainab Bahrani (*Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, 2011), Homi K. Bhabha (*The Location of Culture*, 2007), Dipesh Chakrabarty (*Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), Arif Dirlik (*The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism*, Westview Press, 1998), Edward Said *(Orientalism*, 1991 and *Colonialism and Imperialism*, 1994), and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (*Of Grammatology* co-authored with Jacques Derrida, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998 and 'Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism' in *Critical Inquiry*, *"Race", Writing, and Difference,* Vol. 12, No. 1, 1985, pp.243-261) amongst others, hailing from conservative and self-suppressive decolonised societies (in this case India, Turkey, Iraq and Israel). A variety of conceptual resources were uncovered during the emergence of a postcolonial dialectic which, when applied to an indefinite number of imperial

descriptions, together with specific social and cultural objectives, develops into a range of theoretical insights with diverse emphases, possibilities and counter-arguments by poststructuralists such as Robert Young (1990; 1994; 2001). Postcolonialist theory is specifically designed to undo the ideological heritage of colonial hegemony in politics and culture not only in decolonised countries but also from within the imperial conceptual frameworks themselves (Young, 2003, pp. 57-65).

Critique of postcolonialism

Young (2001, p. 74) states postcolonialist theories have upheld an illusion of European hegemonic unity as postcolonial discourse is most forthcoming from the perspective of, quite naturally, the subaltern. This dismisses the validity of cultural, social and political anti-thetical effects upon the native demography of the colonisers. We are at a point where we have to question if addressing such humanist issues within these narrow parameters of lineal cause and effect, in view of today's globalized and fluid society, is still a valid line of enquiry without addressing the counter effects of the ex-colonies upon the ex-colonials.

These issues are discussed through the prism of a Hittite archaeological exhibition on display in Liverpool between 1931 and 1941, on loan from Prof. John Garstang but curated by the municipal museum. Museums in Britain, then as now, supported an institutionalised mechanism of knowledge archivalisation and generation for the various academic disciplines engendered within the metropolitan research centres of the West (Ahmad, 1994, p. 79). The contextual presentation and intentionality of this particular Hittite gallery, as well as the entire museum, allows for a localised understanding of the role of these municipal institutions, the incipient social constructs and the imperialistic approaches of 'otherness' as received by the native demographics of the Second City of the Empire (Haggerty, et al., 2009). The treatment of the Hittite collection during and after the Second World War also provides an insight into the emergent global social order and its revised priorities.

Significantly this thesis presents the opportunity of reading the necessary methodologies of an individual British agent of empire, Garstang, acting both on

personal interests (Turkey, Egypt) and through official instigation (Palestine) at the turn of the 20th century, as required by the socio-political circumstances of his time and his own personal agendas. These can be read as a direct reflection of the relative place held by the British Empire and its interactions with the Near East and its dependants. This is not an attempt to present an exhaustive biographical account of his life and work, but rather presents snapshots of specific situations or practices which explore the contexts and constraints surrounding an archaeologist acting during a period of great social and political upheaval worldwide. This thesis intends to focus upon conflicting ideological relations between nations and their changing social hierarchies without necessarily applying the self-righteous constraints of a unilateral subaltern perspective. As a form of activism borne from the injustices suffered by the colonised, postcolonialism unavoidably and exclusively viewed socio-political historicity as experienced by the subaltern. The intention is to represent Garstang and the Liverpool Public Museum curators' intentions on their own terms as well as frame the situation through a modern postcolonial reading contextualised through Neo-Hittite archaeology.

The validity of this postcolonial interpretation of Garstang's archives, collection and gallery is further corroborated through the application of 21st century scientific analytical methods such as scanning electron microscope (SEM) and 3-D laser scanning (3-DLS) technology to selected artefacts from his remaining collection held in NML. The modern application of analytical methods supports the interpretation of the historical circumstances surrounding the acquisition of these objects however, more significantly, this process has allowed an exploration of applicable uses of museum collections held in storage. These would unlock their potential for delivering new insight into the heritage of human culture to social demographics which are marginalised by the traditional paradigms of academic education and museum visits. The discovery and compilation of geographical, Biblical, architectural, and evolutionary scientific knowledge was the fundamental impetus for Western collections of the 18th century, the development of museums for knowledge dispersal during the 19th century as part of the Victorian pan-imperial Christian 'Civilizing Mission', leading to the movement for middle class

stewardship of the working classes of the early 20th century (Diaz-Andreu Garcia, 2007, p. 46; Inglis, 2013, p. 116). John Garstang was a product and innovator of this legacy which today still plays a central role in discourse of cultural heritage, social reform, and national identity.

Chapter One: John Garstang as agent of Edwardian British Empire

Introduction

The following chapter maps the methodology of John Garstang as a British subject and archaeologist establishing himself during the Edwardian era (1901 - 1910) upon the broader contemporaneous colonial blueprint inherited from the Victorian era as the belief in British Imperialism, in various sectors and for various reasons, declined. This analysis specifically addresses the Edwardian circumstances at a time when archaeology was increasingly professionalised as universities grew in number and size and museums were staffed by trained curators following government directives towards broader access to general knowledge (Chapter Two). Garstang's career accomplishments depended heavily upon his abilities to utilise his social background, networking skills, and cultural awareness to apply the middle class interests in philanthropy and the stewardship of the lower-classes towards the democratisation of archaeological knowledge. These qualities influenced the decisions he made throughout his life. This chapter marks the first stage in Garstang's tripartite research methodological developments during which his excavations and publications depended on the private funds of wealthy middle class antiquity collectors. His career spanned a period from the end of the Edwardian age in the West to the revolutionary democratisation of Turkey in the East - a nation so steeped in Oriental 'otherness' in Western mentality that it is essential to explore the methodology applied by Garstang who, to an extent, was able to access and present Hittite culture in Britain as it gained crucial political significance in Turkey.

1.1 Autochthonous perceptions of empire

At the turn of the 20th century the British Empire was made up of about 400 million people, of whom 41.5 million lived in the UK, and 294 million in India. About 6 million were in Asia, 43 million in Africa, 7.5 million in the Americas, and 5.25 million in Australasia. Geographically Britain ruled approximately one-quarter of the globe or, as school children learnt by rote: 'one continent, a hundred peninsulas,

five hundred promontories, a thousand lakes, two thousand rivers, ten thousand islands' (Adams, 1949, p. 18, cited by Hyam, 1999).

The official homogeneous creeds ranging behind this diverse colonial possession were supposed to include national pride, cultural superiority and international responsibilities, however these were not necessarily sentiments shared by sectors the general British population which voiced an ambiguity in the viability of Empire (Annan, 1990, p. 32; Masterman, 1901, p. 24). Late 19th century scholars and politicians such as Edward Augustus Freeman, Charles Dilke, Goldwin Smith and William E. Gladstone all argued against over expansion and an imperial federation (Morrisroe, 2013, p. 50). They supported Home Rule with Freeman stating "I am no lover of empire, I am not anxious for my country to exercise lordship over other lands, English-speaking or otherwise" (Freeman, 1892, p. 56). He feared over-expansion and that contact with the East would precipitate the destruction of the Western/British Christian democratic government (Morrisroe, 2013, p. 50).

It is thus apparent that there were three views of Empire for Edwardian society. The upper classes (those who held economically powerful positions of influence in society) ruled and utilised established 'old boys'' networks of useful acquaintances (Wilson, 2000, p. 161) who supported the *status quo*; then the educated professionals and academics who did not necessarily support the British Empire as it were but, lacking substantial financial resources, profited from its established colonial and academic networks for personal advancement, and lastly, the working classes, who had no practical interest in the concept of Empire apart from the employment it provided but whose opinion regarding Empire might not have been valued much (MacKenzie, 1984, p. 246; Wilson, 2000). Garstang fell into the second group; he made good use of his informal Oxford 'old boys'' type of network for social and professional motives, as will be demonstrated below.

1.2 A blueprint of British imperial knowledge collection

Preceding this period of ideological decline (1900s) the British Empire was able to maintain control over its far colonies through an all-pervading information network that was set up to collect information voraciously regardless of its apparent importance (Richards, 1992, p. 4). This was transmitted back to London for processing and archiving: “If the universal catalogue is ever to be attained, we must submit to proceed by gradual approaches, and to be content with something very far short of perfection in the execution of the work.” (Garnett, 1899, p. 1). This process, sustained through a sense of loyalty and allegiance to the metropole, was driven by a received sense of necessity to maintain a system which was not only mutually beneficial for British agents and leaders but was genuinely believed to be advantageous for the colonised and ‘Mankind’ in general. Rudyard Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden" written to inspire brother imperialists across the Atlantic in 1899, identified this civilizing mission as one to be undertaken by all right-minded people of European descent (Spielvogel, 2010, p. 521). The British were to govern an Empire by virtue of their national, racial, and cultural superiority. In his lecture on imperial duty (1870), the polemicist John Ruskin praised the English as "a race mingled of the best northern blood" and enriched by "a thousand years of noble history" (Ruskin, 1870, pp. 1-31). Given these perceived advantages, England had not just the right, but on a mandate to expand: "she must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able". Joseph Chamberlain's lecture "The True Conception of Empire" (1897) describes the English as a "great governing race" whose greatness is manifested especially in the British "sense of obligation" to the savage populations under its benevolent rule (Hagerman, 2013, p. 103).

This ‘Civilizing Mission’ (Pratt, 2003, p. 171) was supported by elements of the politically influential classes of colonised populations as well (e.g. in Egypt, India, Malta, Gibraltar and so on) (Bivona, 1998, p. 80; Luhrmann, 1994, p. 333) and thus allowed for a degree of autochthonous self-colonisation. Information was collected by individuals affiliated to various British institutions such as the British Museum,

the Royal Geographic Society, the India Survey and the universities (Richards, 1992, p. 4).

1.3 Garstang's social context within the empire

In this section I will provide a brief biographical outline of Garstang's relevant social context. A full biographical account is forthcoming by Dr. Phil W.M. Freeman. Other publications by Freeman include 'O. R. Gurney, (2004), 'Garstang, John (1876–1956)', reviewed by Freeman in 2012.

Garstang, one of six children, was born in Blackburn in 1876 to Dr Walter Garstang. He was a physician, a middle ranking, and middle class professional, within a predominantly working class industrial northern town. Most likely they would have owned their own house with an income of around £500 to £700 per year (Long, 1993, p. 9). This status, within a defined Edwardian hierarchical society, meant that Garstang would have been aware that despite having access to better education through grammar school and university, and expecting a distinctly higher standard of living than the working class contingent about him, he was still at the mercy of economic factors dictated by a society led by its upper classes. These were made up of the traditional nobility and, increasingly, by wealthy industrial magnates involved in politics and significant public institutions hailing from a middle class background but holding positions of influence due to their success in commerce. One of the few ways in which Dr Walter Garstang Sr. could maintain the future of his family status was by ensuring that his sons attended Oxford University and his daughters married well. The utility of building and maintaining social networks for the benefit of oneself and dependents was common practice.

Garstang was the younger brother of Walter Garstang Jr, fellow at Lincoln College, Oxford University, who was to become professor of zoology at Leeds University. In 1895 Garstang joined Jesus College at Oxford too where he met eminent Assyriologist, philologist and astronomer Rev. Archibald Henry Sayce (1846 – 1933). Hittite archaeology and culture was focused upon by British archaeologists at the turn of the 20th century. Some of the main scholars included David Hogarth, Leonard Woolley, T. E. Lawrence and John Garstang. By the late 1870s evidence of a

Hittite culture had been found solely in Egyptian temple depictions and records. It was felt that the Egyptians, Akkadians, the Babylonians, Assyrians, Etruscans, Persians, Greeks, and Phoenicians were known well enough so evidence for the mysterious *(K)Hatti*, referred to in the Bible, was being sought. These studies were led by Sayce and he introduced Garstang to archaeology and the discovery of the lost Hittite civilization. Sayce was the president of the Society of Biblical Archaeology during 1890, 1894, 1895 and 1904 and published an article 'The Babylonian Astronomy' with Robert H. M. Bosanquet (scientist, musician and mathematician at Balliol College, Oxford) in 1880 (*Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Vol. 40, Iss. 3, pp. 105-23) following on cuneiform translations by the mathematicians, and astronomers Joseph Epping (1889, 1890), and Franz Xaver Kugler (1900, 1907-24) regarding Babylonian mathematical astronomy documents held within the British Museum (Neugebauer, 1967, pp. 964-72).

It is worthwhile mentioning here that Sayce was a contemporary of the philhellene historian Edward Augustus Freeman at Oxford during 1884. Freeman's Victorian political theories of philological Aryan cultural supremacy, cyclical progression of nations based upon ancient Athenian and Roman models, and the adoption of the philosophies of Liberal Anglicans such as Thomas Arnold (*Comparative Method* and *Historismus*, 1845) and Friedrich Max Müller (*Lectures on the Science of Language*, 1864) were seminal at the turn of the 20th century. His works both reflected and informed the national and European socio-political upheaval of this period. Freeman based his Aryan theories upon a belief of cultural historical lineage from ancient Greece and Rome directly to European democratic culture through the "moral and spiritual perfection of Christianity" (Freeman, 1873, p.214; Morrisroe, 2013, p. 45); an exclusive philological group in which, according to Freeman, Turkey and the Ottoman empire had no place (Freeman, 1892, p. 321).

Freeman, a late Romantic philhellene who had taken part in the uprising of Bosnia and Herzegovina against the Ottoman Empire had utilised archaeological and anthropological evidence with his student Arthur Evans in support of his beliefs. Sayce considered Freeman unqualified to utilise archaeological and philological

discoveries to support his prejudices and he considered British Hellenes his "opponents" based upon this lack of archaeological knowledge (Sayce, 1923, p. 139, 224). This points to a clear British socio-cultural rift separating the Victorian inherited belief of British Imperial rule as rightful due to a direct descent from ancient Greece, Rome, and Christianity, and a modern professionalised archaeological approach based upon scientific analysis as directed by Sayce, William Wright, Matthew Flinders Petrie, and Garstang amongst others, which led to the understanding of an East to West wave of cultural influence. This depicts an instance of the politicisation and framing of archaeological evidence pertaining to ownership of territory in contrast with the early steps towards a democratisation of archaeological evidence regardless of nationality.

When the Society of Biblical Archaeology was established (1870) one of its foundation remits was to follow archaeological clues to the Biblical texts regardless of consequences to theology. Its scope was primarily that of archaeology. Flinders Petrie was also a member of this society and thus a colleague of Sayce (Davis, 1004, p. 19-20). Garstang graduated in Mathematics in 1899 and he joined Flinders Petrie in Egypt later that year, as his assistant (Drower, 1995, p. 225). I shall be shown that Garstang's friendship with Sayce came to define his career choices, methodologies and sympathies throughout his lifetime (Garstang, 1910, p. xiv).

In 1907 Garstang married Marié Louise Bergés from the French Pyrenees. Garstang met Marié in Egypt while working with Flinders Petrie. She was the daughter of a Pyrenean farmer who claimed to have no dowry prepared for her. Garstang asked after a rock-strewn hill M. Bergés owned but did not appear to utilise. M. Bergés deemed it was unworkable and handed it over to Garstang who had noted that it was made of marble. He had this stone quarried, shipped to Liverpool and sold for making cemetery headstones. Apparently this endeavour made him a small personal fortune (Seton-Williams, 1988, pp. 57-8). They had a son, John and a daughter, Meroë (University of Liverpool, Garstang Museum collection (henceforth UoL, GM), no archival reference available - see thesis introduction). Garstang's sister, Sarah Gamzu married Robert Gurney, an affluent zoologist and close friend of their brother Walter at Oxford (Rice, 1989). They had a son, Oliver Robert Gurney,

who was to play a significant role during Garstang's career and in carrying on his uncle's research into the Hittites. Sayce, Flinders Petrie and Gurney were the first members of what was to become Garstang's personalised Oxford 'old boys'' network which involved various other members influential in Britain, Egypt, Turkey and Sudan, as will be discussed below. This Oxford network was critical to Garstang's career, as it not only introduced him to his lifelong research subject, Hittite archaeology, but also facilitated his career's success in various ways over many years in Britain, Egypt, Turkey and Palestine. Various selected biographical scenarios are presented here and in the following chapter, which demonstrate Garstang's ability to apply his networks as knowledge collecting agent of empire. The assiduous formation of these networks was not optional; there was no available funding from museums, universities or government bodies for archaeological research and knowledge dissemination. Professors of non-traditional subjects had to raise salaries privately as will be demonstrated below. Garstang's excavation committees were sought and formed privately for private ends. A few of these members endowed professorial positions within institutes of archaeology, as well as other faculties (Siberman and Bauer, 2012, p. 481). This practice can be seen as an act of middle class philanthropy towards a practice of wider distribution of knowledge at the turn of the 20th century in Britain.

Garstang garnered and maintained key relationships formed through his academic, family and professional connections (NML, MMAL, FCD D/D/V 2-29, PF #310, postcard Garstang-Danson, 16th May 1907). This skill, which today we would call 'networking', was to lead to the formation of the Hittite artefact and casts collection which made its way to the Liverpool Public Museum (now World Museum, NML) displayed as the Hittite Collection in 1931. This was open until 1941 when it was hit during a WWII Blitz attack on Liverpool (Allan, 1941). A detailed biography of Garstang and the working relationships of their significant members is in preparation by Dr Phil Freeman of the University of Liverpool (as of 2014).

Garstang's archaeological career took place in Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Palestine and Sudan (Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (LAAA), 1908; 1909;

1910; 1913; 1914; 1923; 1926; 1927; 1934; 1937; 1938), as well as his early forays into the discipline in Britain (Garstang, 1950, pp. 206-07). Garstang joined the Liverpool IoA in 1902 as Reader of Egyptian Archaeology, and was founding Honorary Treasurer of the journal *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (LAAA) from 1908, which ran until 1948 (UoL, GM; LAAA, 1948). He was also the first Director of the British Mandatory Department of Antiquities in Palestine in 1919. In 1920 he was made the first director of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (Cobbing & Tubb, 2005, p. 81). In 1947 he went on to establish and direct the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara (BIAA), Turkey (Lloyd, 1974, p. 197).

In the following section I shall be exploring some of his most pertinent associations and how Garstang benefitted through them. Most significantly he was to make full use of the support provided by an established British colonial knowledge collection network in the Near East during a time when a British archaeologist willing to collect geo-anthropological information in Turkey was politically desirable, as explained in section 1.5.

1.4 Garstang's networks – Oxford-London-Egypt-Turkey-Sudan

Garstang's network circles can be broken down into three main interconnected divisions: places he worked as an archaeologist (Oxford, London, Egypt, Turkey and Sudan); the place where he worked as an academic (Liverpool); and his family circle. Each facilitated the other to maintain a web of supportive acquaintances and officials throughout his life.

1.5 Garstang's Near Eastern network

Sayce had been researching and publishing the language and geography of the Hittite Kingdom for fifteen years when Garstang met him and he had identified Boğazköy as Hattusha, the capital of the Hittites, with William Wright in 1882 (Wright & Sayce, 1884). Sayce was the leading British expert in Assyrian, Babylonian

and Egyptian script and had extensive knowledge of the main Hittite sites, geography and the collections held at the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Istanbul (Chevalier, 2012, pp. 63-4) and had also travelled to Sudan. The following section explores how knowing Sayce had led Garstang to be interested in Hittite archaeology and achieving the Boğazköy excavation permit from the Ottoman authorities in 1907 in direct competition with other European and American archaeologists in the region.

At the turn of the 20th century British archaeologists in Turkey were few and the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (DO-G) (German Oriental Society) was the main contingent actively excavating at the time. This was of significant concern for both the archaeological research community and for the British Foreign Office due to the favourable conditions being offered to Germany by Abdul Hamid II at the time (Ceram, 1955, p. 44). It is unclear if Garstang had commenced his Roman excavations in Britain under Francis J. Haverfield (Professor of Ancient History at Oxford) prior to meeting Sayce, but it is clear that a plan to train Garstang up as field archaeologist to excavate at Boğazköy was made while he was still a student (Drower, 1995, p. 51). Garstang was sent to Abydos as Egyptian Research Account student by Sayce, to work with the exacting Flinders Petrie, who was being funded by the Egypt Exploration Fund of the University of London (Drower, 1995, pp. 225, 259). He worked with Flinders Petrie until 1902 and later he excavated various Egyptian and Nubian (Sudan) sites until 1909 with Ernest Harold Jones as his assistant (Garstang, 1913c, p. 107; Drower, 1995, pp. 263-65). In this way, strong links were forged on both an academic and a personal level between Oxford, the University of London and the main British archaeologist in Egypt, Flinders Petrie.

Sayce was aware of the necessity of good connections in Istanbul in order to achieve excavation permits from the Ottoman Antiquities authority. Working for the British Museum Sayce and George Smith had achieved their Nineveh excavation permits in 1873 through the British Consul and assyriologist Sir Austen Henry Layard (Smith & Sayce, 1880), who was an attaché at the British Embassy in Istanbul until 1880 (*The Times,* 1897*,* p. 134). Similarly the British Museum and the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) both found Consul Patrick Henderson in Aleppo helpful

when applying to excavate at Carchemish between 1878 and 1881 (BM) and to work in Palestine (PEF) (Gilibert, 2011, p. 20). Sayce and Flinders Petrie were long-term colleagues (Flinders Petrie & Sayce, 1891; Drower, 1995, p. 51) and the former knew Flinders Petrie was the right man to whom to send Garstang for the most advantageous introduction. In 1902 Flinders Petrie acquainted Garstang with Prof. Percy Newberry and Prof. Ernest J.H. Mackay while at Abydos. These two further connections were to be crucial for Garstang as Newberry was to introduce him to the most influential people in Istanbul to achieve the permit to dig in Ottoman Anatolia in 1907 and to develop his career in Liverpool from 1904 onwards.

Newberry was a seasoned Egyptologist who had known Flinders Petrie since 1885 (Flinders Petrie, et al., 1890; Drower, 1995, p. 153). In 1902 he was working with David Hogarth, Howard Carter and his brother John, at Deir el-Bahari and Beni Hasan for the British Museum (Drower, 1995, pp. 210-14). Hogarth was a family friend of the British chief dragoman Gerald H. Fitzmaurice at the British consulate in Istanbul (Berridge, 2007; Pears, 1916, p. 344). Garstang sent a postcard to Sir Francis Chatillon Danson, a funder of the Anatolia survey, from Munich in 1904 (rest of date illegible) during his preliminary trip to Istanbul, stating that Newberry was accompanying him (National Museums Liverpool, Merseyside Maritime Archives and Library, Danson Family Archives, Francis Chatillon Danson (henceforth: NML, MMAL, FCD), V2-30, Phil Freeman reference (henceforth: PF) #7 - see thesis introduction for archive referencing clarification). Newberry and Fitzmaurice were acquainted through Hogarth and thus Garstang gained access to Fitzmaurice in Istanbul. He in turn provided him with the introductions necessary to apply for the excavation permit for Boğazköy. One might surmise that Newberry was to introduce Garstang to Fitzmaurice and other helpful contacts in Istanbul. It is apparent that Newberry and Garstang had a close working relationship during those first two years as they co-authored *A Short History of Ancient Egypt* (Newberry & Garstang, 1904). Once in Istanbul Fitzmaurice introduced Garstang to Sir Edwin Pears, another British consul who counted Osman Hamdi Bey (Ottoman Minister of Antiquities) as his personal friend (Pears, 1916, p. 160) (see Appendix Three).

Outlined above is a clear, almost straightforward, network building strategy starting from Oxford to London onto Egypt and then to Istanbul utilising the British colonial network of agents, contacts and knowledge collectors in the Near East. Garstang was making the best use of an informal networking system reminiscent of the 'old boys'' network ideology and which had already worked well for other British archaeologists working in these regions. Garstang was now part of this informal British neo-colonising system that was concerned with the growing presence of German intelligence collecting units (diplomatic, geographical, and archaeological) within the Ottoman territories (McMeekin, 2010, p. 143). It is clear that he was using this British presence for the advancement of his own interests in Hittite archaeology but there is no evidence that he had direct involvement in any official British colonial exercise in knowledge collection at this point. His official status changed once he was appointed director of the Department of Antiquities with the British Mandate in Palestine, where he established the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (BIAJ) following WWI, which marked the second phase of his career. In turn Garstang had the opportunity to utilised the British political presence in the Near East to establish hubs of knowledge collection, conservation and native restitution rather than extraction. The establishment of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (BIAA) was a further development of this principle.

Following the Anatolia survey and excavations at Sakçagözü Garstang's informal Oxford 'old boys'' network led him to Sudan. Fitzmaurice introduced Garstang to Lord Kitchener in 1908 who subsequently facilitated Garstang's Meroë excavation permit (Satia, 2008, pp. 35-39,61; Garstang, 1950). Amongst Fitzmaurice's regular correspondents and friends in the Near East were Gertrude L. Bell (1927), David G. Hogarth, T.E. Lawrence, Ernest Mackay and Sir C. Leonard Woolley (Satia, 2008, pp. 35-9) who were linked by an informal knowledge collecting process as they travelled about the region. They were supported by British officials such as Fitzmaurice and Kitchener who facilitated their passage and safety while maintaining a flow of information to London (Satia, 2008, p. 40). In 1914 they were variously recruited into the British Geographical Section of the General Staff (GSGS,

now MI5) for the Near East and the Army Commission surveying ancient sites in Palestine and Syria, mostly on Hogarth's recommendation (Satia, 2008, pp. 40, 61; Possehl, 2010, p. 41). The dividing line between British archaeologists and official colonial knowledge collecting agents was easily blurred.

In 1914 Garstang was invited by the Sudan Government to be their Honorary Adviser to the Service of Antiquities, a role that he accepted (*The Times,* 1914b). The Sudan Government was controlled by the Lieutenant-General, *Sirdar* (Egyptian military General) and *Pasha* (local Governor) Sir Reginald Wingate, who was also director of the Sudan intelligence branch in collaboration with Lord Kitchener (Wingate, 1891). Garstang had met with Kitchener and Wingate on various occasions at Meroë and also at the exhibition of Ethiopian artefacts held at Burlington House in London, *Where the Shadow both Ways Falls,* hosted by the Society of Antiquaries of London. This had received the highest royal approval when the Queen and Princess Mary visited on July 1914 *(The Times,* 1914d) as well as other minor members of the royal family:

> Dear Lady Brocklebank,
>
> Thank you greatly for your letter with regard to Princess Louise; if during the next few days I find it possible to complete the arrangement of the recent accession in time for her visit on the 23rd I will write to Capt Probert and as if she and the Duke would care to see them at the Institute. He was with their party in Egypt, and I remember him quite well.

(NML, MMAL, FCD D/D/V2-3, Letter copy Garstang-Lady Brocklebank, 7th September, 1906)

However when WWI broke out, he abandoned Meroë (*The Times,* 1914c*;* Garstang, 1950) and dropped out of the British colonial knowledge network by joining the Red Cross in France at the *Hospices Civils et Militaires de Carcassonne* in 1915. This earned him the *Médaille de la Reconnaissance Français* in 1920 (NML, MMAL, V11-1, PF #65; Perrin, 1956, p. 346). It seems that in spite of being an official adviser in Sudan on close terms with Kitchener who was recruiting for the Foreign Office (Chapman & Gibson, 1996, p. 94), Garstang declined, or was not chosen, to contribute to the British war effort in this region, possibly to contribute to the war

in Europe. This option was attainable through his family connections in Britain. It is not clear why he was in France rather than in the Near East or Sudan as contemporary archaeologists mentioned above. Similarly Gertrude Bell had voluntarily worked with the Red Cross in Boulogne, France in 1914/15, until she was willingly sent to Cairo upon Hogarth's recommendation (Hogarth, 1937). It is possible that Garstang was not familiar enough to Hogarth to warrant a similar recommendation, however one would suppose that Hogarth knew Garstang through Kitchener, Newberry or even Flinders Petrie with whom he had published *Koptos* in 1896. Admittedly Flinders Petrie was a member of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute which might not have been ideal given the political situation, thus Garstang might have been excluded by proxy. Another suggestion is that, unlike Bell for example, Garstang's degree at Oxford was Mathematics and not Classics; his language skills and his connections in Britain and the Near East might not have been influential and extensive enough to be of military use.

Image 1.1: Garstang's photo of the Kitchener party at Meroë (Ref.: M-1217, Garstang Museum archives, UoL)

1.6 Garstang's Liverpool network

The following section explores Garstang's network building in Liverpool to sustain his interest in the Near East. Between 1895 and 1914 the city of Liverpool had experienced a rapid expansion of its working class population as eight suburbs were incorporated to make up a unitary Greater Liverpool. This led to major expansion of council accommodation for the large working class population necessary to support

its levels of industry. Considering the architectural boom of public edifices, office blocks, warehouses, residential areas spanning all economic thresholds, churches, parks and public houses as a sign of an expanding economy and population outside of London, only Glasgow came close to this rate of social and mercantile expansion supported by the industrial developments at Birkenhead and Elsmere Port (Pollard and Pevsner, 2006, pp. 248-51). University College Liverpool had been established for twenty-three years when Garstang joined the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology in 1904, by which time the college had just achieved independent university status (University of Liverpool, 2013).

Garstang did not have a strong academic background through his degree from Oxford (3rd), however given the growing trend for middle class social philanthropy and working class stewardship through education, as well as the recent endowment of university status Garstang might have considered Liverpool the best option for opportunities of research funding as will be shown below.

Garstang owed, to some degree, his position in Liverpool to Rev. John Watson (a.k.a. Ian Maclaren) who had been touring Egyptian sites in 1901 (Robertson Nicoll, 1909, pp. 290-2). The following year Watson wrote to Dr Henry Ogg Forbes, Honorary Reader of Ethnography at the University College Liverpool, as well as being the director and consulting director of the Liverpool Public Museum until 1932. In 1903 Forbes was pledged to secure a share of Garstang 1903 Egypt excavations through the newly formed Excavation Committee which consisted of affluent local merchants looking to increase their private antiquity collections (UoL, Archive of the University of Liverpool: Vice-chancellor, Establishment of University College and the University of Liverpool, Chairs, Readerships, Lectureships, Chair of Classical Archaeology, 1905-06, P5B/2/5). That same year, at Reqâqnah and Beit Khallâf, Garstang met Mr and Mrs John Rankin through Flinders Petrie (1903). The Rankins were an ideal wealthy shipping mercantile family with a presence in Liverpool since 1860 and whose companies, and their various offshoots, had had offices in the UK, Canada, USA and India, for over a century, functioning under the latest title of *Gilmour, Ranking, Stang and Co*. (Rankin, 1908, p. 279). The Rankins, and their business partners, were involved in many philanthropic causes and

committees, held parliamentary seats and titles (John Gilmour 1st Bart., 1876-1940). They met Garstang in Egypt as keen Egyptian antiquity collectors who, in 1923, donated 40 Egyptian objects from their collections to Kendal Museum, and several Egyptian objects for study to the Sedbergh School, where Rankin was a governor (Rankin, 1908, pp. 4, 90). Garstang dedicated his publication *Report of Excavations at Reqâqnah 1901-2* (Garstang, 1904) to the Rankins for their generosity in endowing the Rankin Professor of Methods and Practice of Archaeology at Liverpool (*The Times,* 1907a) which Garstang was to hold until 1947. Furthermore, Rev. Watson wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the Liverpool University College, Sir Alfred Dale, vouching for Garstang and suggesting that they give him a readership post-haste before the University of Chicago made him a better offer (UoL, Archive of the University of Liverpool: Vice-chancellor, Establishment of University College and the University of Liverpool, Chairs, Readerships, Lectureships, Chair of Classical Archaeology, 1905-06, P5B/2/5). Garstang's wealth upper and middle class support networks from Oxford, Egypt and now Liverpool evidently had far reaching tendrils of influence and positive personal consequences for those who knew how to engage their interests.

Later in 1903 Garstang, Newberry and John Mackay (Professor of Ancient History), all at UoL, collaborated on a letter published by *The Times* in 1903 regarding the potential artistic links between the Hyskos, and the Etruscans implying that evidence pointed to a direct relationship with the Hittites (Garstang, et al., 1903). As with the newspaper article he published with Newberry, Garstang was once again forging close connections and declaring his archaeological interests through a public platform. His understanding of the power of visual and public media to sustain his research support networks, including his photographic archive, will be examined in more detail below.

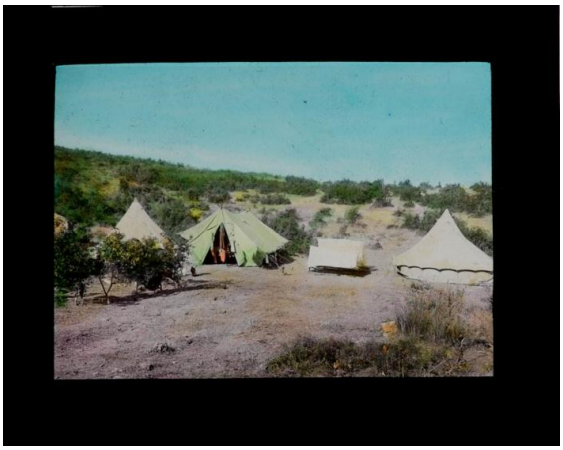


Image 1.2: Garstang experimenting with colour photography (Ref.: LS1-R-136, Garstang Museum archives, UoL)

By 1904 Garstang had raised enough funds to form private excavation committees affiliated with the IoA which supported his survey and excavation seasons in the Egypt. However, his academic reputation at Liverpool would have been tenuous unless the IoA could retain another two Research Chairs to maintain its academic credibility (NML, MMAL, FCD D/D/V2-30, PF #08, Garstang-Danson corr. 1904). Garstang's Hittite research at Liverpool was to be established with the assistance of Newberry and John Mackay. This was one link of his Egypt-Liverpool network which brought together the funds necessary to attract reputable professors to the Institute. Garstang established Newberry at the IoA at Liverpool in 1906/1907 by securing him the position of Brunner Professor of Egyptology funded by Sir John Brunner (NML, MMAL, FCD D/D/V2-30, PF #08, Garstang-Danson corr. 1904).

Newberry had been running the Theban necropolis excavations in Egypt until they were taken over by Sir Robert Mond, in 1902, with Ernest Mackay as his assistant (Mackay, 1916, p. 125). Garstang met both Mond and Mackay through Newberry (Newberry, 1938, p. 209). His acquaintance with Mond proved profitable as Garstang was in turn introduced to Sir John T. Brunner. Both Mond and Brunner became major funding members of the Sakçagözü and Meroë excavation committees at Liverpool (Garstang, 1908c, p. 97). Mond and Brunner were industrialist business partners running the lucrative Brunner, Mond and Co. plant based at Northwich, thirty-five miles away from Liverpool (Newberry, 1938, p. 208).

Following Garstang's loss of the Boğazköy permit to Hugo Winckler (1907) it appears that Danson declined to fund Garstang's Hittite work. Despite this, Danson

and his wife regularly exchanged correspondence with the Garstangs regarding the excavations, family life and war experiences (NML, MMAL, FCD D/D/V 4-1 and VI 1-1, PF #64, #65, #130, #131, #137). Despite Danson's lack of interest in Hittite discoveries Garstang's correspondence from Sakçagözü was obviously written to tantalise Danson into investing again, giving details of finds and sending photographs via the Rankins. This tactic did not change Danson's mind but nevertheless the flow of friendly correspondence and personal visits continued over many years (NML, MMAL, FCD D/D/VI 1-1, PF #137, Garstang-Danson corr. 1916). Danson was a VP of the IoA from *c*1904 (along with the other benefactors Brocklebank, Brunner, Johnston and Rankin) until his death. He served on the Finance Standing Committee from September 1905 onwards, the (pre-Institute) Committee for Excavations in Egypt affiliated to the Institute from September 1905 to 1909 and the British Honduras Excavations Committee from 1908 until 1914. He was not on the contemporary Hittite Excavations Committee (1908-14) or the Excavations in the Sudan Committee (1910-14 (IoA Annual Reports, various years).

Focussing here upon Danson, as an example of the funding role played by Committee Members, I quote personal letters between Garstang and Danson. Garstang proposed that 3 professorial chairs be paid £400pa and not the usual £600; "[…]it is understood that the University will be willing to accept 2/3rd of the endowment usual for Professors, or £6660 13sh. 4d instead of £10,000 and to make up the balance from the funds in the usual way." The "usual way" being in the form of annual personal subscriptions to the committee's excavation coffers (Undated private memoranda, though has to predate Newberry's appointment as Professor as he had filled one of the chairs discussed, (NML, MMAL, FCD, PF #09, undated private memoranda, 1904).

1906 correspondence of Garstang to Danson:

> […] and our duplicate antiquities, Mr Newberry has expressed himself so strongly in disapproval of this cause [?] that I have decided to postpone the matter until he may have an opportunity of expressing the situation to yourself. I feel I had not realised the full extent of some of the points he urges. It would probably be desirable for us to employ an Agent if we wished

> to advertise the matter at all; and it will be undesirable for me to sign a certificate for objects sold through an Agent, as that course will be so liable to misrepresentation by people in Egypt not fully grasping the situation, and might lead to difficulties between myself and the Dept. of Antiquities, which does not favour any form of dealing. Of course our private sales will still continue and I shall be glad to sign certificates for such; these will be in that case evidence of a business transaction.

(NML, MMAL, FCD, PF #12, Garstang-Danson letter, 7 Sept. 1906).

There is also reference here to previous letters he sent to Lady Edith Danson, and Sir Thomas and Lady Brocklebank to endow the chair in Egyptology in the name of the late Sir Thomas Brocklebank.

The excavation committee for Sakçagözü was further augmented by Martyn Kennard in 1908 who had been a funding committee member for Flinders Petrie's (1888) (London, 2002) and Garstang's Beni Hasan (1901), and Meroë IoA excavations (Garstang, 1907, p. 221; Garstang, 1910, p. xiii; Drower, 1995, p. 128). Kennard was a private collector, and second generation banker based in Manchester as his family's London bank, Heywood, Kennards and Co. merged with the Bank of Manchester Ltd. in 1864 (Hilton Price, 1876, p. 76) (Consolidated Bank Ltd., now part of the Royal Bank of Scotland, 2013). Kennard introduced Garstang to the local ship-owner and philanthropist Ralph Brocklebank (of T. and J. Brocklebank Ltd., later Cunard Lines) who had joined as another prominent funder of Garstang's Anatolian excavation committees (Garstang, 1910, p. xiii).

The IoA was presided over by the H.R.H. Princess Henry (Beatrice) of Battenberg (UoL, GM, LAAA, 1909-1903), whose husband was the Chancellor of the University until 1948 (University of Liverpool, 2013). The founding Vice-President of the IoA was Frederick George Hilton Price, a banker, prominent private collector, geologist, amateur historian and archaeologist in the UK as well as a prolific benefactor of foreign archaeology, who co-funded and presided over the Egypt Exploration Fund from 1885 which supported Flinders Petrie (Hilton Price, 1876; UoL, GM, IoA Annual Report 1908-09; Garstang, 1909, p. 95). Hilton Price was also vice-president of the Society of Biblical Archaeology which was presided over by Archibald Sayce while the philosopher and astronomer Bernard Bosanquet (brother of the previously

mentioned Robert H. M. Bosanquet) was honorary treasurer of the same society (Sayce, 1903). Yet again another productive and lasting contact had been established during his early years as a British archaeologist in the 'Orient'.

Woolley stated that Garstang "had gathered about him at Liverpool a galaxy of gifted scholars" (Woolley, 1956, p. 33). This "galaxy" included Robert Carr Bosanquet, brother to Robert (elder) and Bernard, who was appointed to the Charles W. Jones Chair of Classical Archaeology following his position as Director of the British School at Athens with Hogarth and John Linton Myres. Linton Myres joined the IoA in 1907 as Honorary Gladstone Professor of Classical Geography until 1910, when he moved to Oxford as Wykeham Professor of Ancient History. Subsequently he contributed to the British Naval Intelligence Division during WWI. Sir James George Frazer was appointed Honorary Professor of Social Anthropology but only for a year after which he went back to Cambridge (Ackerman, 1987, p. 222). Francis Pierrepont Barnard joined the IoA in 1909 as Professor of Mediaeval Archaeology (Barnard, 1909; Droop, 1948, p. 116). These made up five Chairs which sustained the viability of the IoA at the university. Ramsay Muir, professor of history from 1899 until 1913 at Liverpool wrote:

> Another great enthusiast was John Garstang, who brought the hard-headed business sense of a Lancashire man to the service of archaeology. I lived with him for a time, in a nest of rooms attached to the University Club; and we used to laugh at him when he set forth on Sundays, in a black coat and silk hat, to call on merchant princes to fire them with enthusiasm for archaeology, and to get their help in defraying the cost of an expedition or in founding a chair. It was mainly due to him that a modern university in a commercial city was actually equipped with no less than four Chairs of Archaeology and an Archaeological Institute.

(Muir, 1943, p. 80)

It was in 1908 that Garstang established another important institution that was to augment his process of knowledge distribution - the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (LAAA). The journal's primary function was to keep interested parties informed about the Institute's endeavours and its main financial contributors in order to attract further scholars and donors (NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/V2-14, PF #28, Letter Boyce - Danson, 7 May 1908). The first issue opened with

Garstang's account of his survey trip to Turkey, 'Notes on a journey through Asia Minor' (1908a) with a foreword by Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie. The *Annals* provided an official media platform from which Garstang, and other contributors, mainly from the IoA, could provide official and prominent reports on their latest research and expeditions.

Ever mindful of the public interest in the annual reports and prospectus, each edition of the LAAA was prefaced by lists of lectures and courses that had been delivered at the IoA and the Liverpool Public Museum. These were very well attended and ensured as wide a public reach as possible.

1.7 A family affair – Garstang's personal Edwardian colonial network

Garstang found he could seamlessly link his family connections with work. Robert Gurney, father of nephew Oliver R. Gurney, contributed to Garstang's Abydos excavation committee (1909) in return for a share of the finds (NML, MMAL, FCD D/D/V2-38, PF #157, Letter Davey - Danson, 5th August 1909). The Gurneys were able to offer Garstang, and his family, opportunities through their wealth and their position in the upper-classes as they had been banking since 1770 and counted various prominent Quakers as their relations (e.g. Joseph John Gurney (i.e. the Gurneyite), Elizabeth Fry, Thomas Foxwell Buxton and Sir Eustace Gurney). W.S. Gilbert and A. Sullivan even mentioned them in their comic opera *Trial by Jury* (1875): "at length I became as rich as the Gurneys" (Elliott, 2006, p. 235). By 1896 Gurney's Bank had been consolidated to make part of Barclays Bank (Ackrill and Leslie, 2001, ch. 1 *passim*) although the family remained wealthy and influential.

During WWI Mrs Mariè Garstang was a Red Cross Voluntary Aid Detachment nurse serving from June to November 1917 at Ingham Old Hall VAD Auxiliary Hospital with the Norfolk/126 detachment receiving soldiers from France (British Red Cross, email correspondence, Cox - Rutland, 2012). Ingham Hall was the family home of Robert, Sarah and Oliver Gurney. The Gurney family connection had been useful in giving Mariè the opportunity to contribute to the war effort from a safe distance, maybe for the sake of their children. They had a son, John Bergés Eustace, in 1908 (NML,

MMAL, FCD, D/D/V 2-32, PF #133, Letter Garstang-Danson, 19th October 1908; *The Times*, 1935a) and a daughter, Meroë, in 1915 (*The Times*, 1938).

Sarah Gurney held the position of hospital director while Robert's mother, Lady Isabel Talbot de Malahide, served as president of the Dublin branch of the British Red Cross Society, the Irish Joint Red Cross and St John Executive Committees (Anderson, 2000). By December 1917, Mariè had joined the French Red Cross (British Red Cross, email correspondence, Cox - Rutland, 2012), presumably to be with her husband.

Sarah Gurney had been accompanying her brother on-site with her son Oliver over many years (Hawkins, 2003, p. 219), and this evidently influenced the young boy's interests. He read Greats (including Classical Greek, Latin literature, philology, philosophy, architecture) at New College, Oxford, but was urged by his uncle to focus his DPhil research on the Hittite language. Gurney published his doctoral thesis, *Hittite Prayers of Mursilis II*, through the IoA (Gurney, 1940). He also co-authored the book The *Geography of the Hittite Empire* (Garstang & Gurney, 1959) with his uncle, which was published after Garstang's death. Furthermore Gurney followed in Garstang's footsteps by becoming president of BIAA, from 1982 until his death in 2001 (Hawkins, 2003, p. 224).

Image 1.3: Ingham Old Hall, WWI VAD Auxiliary hospital, Norfolk (Ref.: http://www.inghamoldhall.co.uk/images/home.jpg)

1.8 Knowledge is power

The following section explores how Garstang's methods of networking and influence fitted into the context of a knowledge collecting system as a form of British neo-colonisation during the Edwardian period. Neo-colonialism is here defined as the intention of influence over another nation through unofficial 'colonial' channels in the hope of an alliance leading to a beneficial position of power for both parties (Stephen Shalom, quoted in Blanchard, 1996, p. 6).

It can be seen that exhibiting the artefacts of industry and culture within museums and collections in Europe essentially represented the comprehensive colonisation of knowledge, industry and science by means of empire-wide systems of appropriation – of culture, object, economy, market or method through means of display and appropriation. Other non-Imperial nations adopted the same strategies of collecting and displaying for similar ends of cultural and political self-ownership. The process involved reinterpretation and redistribution of the knowledge gained with the aim of focussing knowledge ownership and control into the imperial metropole (Richards, 1992, p. 8). It was necessary for empires to be, or at least appear to be, all-seeing, all-knowing and therefore all-powerful. In effect this was a new method of remote colonisation through the proxy of international knowledge collection and management. This generated a need in Europe to project the manifestation of homogeneous empire-wide control during the late 19th century that had led to museum collections being compulsively and competitively amassed, regardless of their derivative context or value. Collections accumulated from abroad were simply a physical symbol of European national ownership of that colonised nation and its culture.

These physical collections led directly to the establishment of institutions such as the British and South Kensington Museums, the Louvre Palace as a museum in France, the Pergamum Museum in Germany, and the Metropolitan and Pennsylvania Museums in the United States. The colonialist foundations of these collections and their influence in Western societies are still present, if indirectly, within public institutions (Chapter Four).

The identification of this system of international networking, loyalty and collaboration in Garstang's working methods has been fairly straightforward. Garstang was able to nurture and maintain a strong family and acquaintance network which allowed him the opportunities of access into social, political and cultural circles which he otherwise would not have had. His resourcefulness and attentive loyalty to colleagues and those who supported his interests ensured him reciprocal respect and long-term constancy in friendship which allowed his career to flourish over 47 years.

On the other hand, Garstang might have been excluded from other beneficent 'knowledge networks' through the associations he had made already. The rift between Sir Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge and Flinders Petrie has been well documented, as well as with other notable archaeologists working in the Near East such as Hormuzd Rassam (Reade, 1993, pp. 39-62). Wallis Budge was an Egyptologist employed by the British Museum who extended the museum's Egyptian collections through various trips to Egypt and Sudan contemporaneously with Flinders Petrie, most notably from Tell al-Amarna where Flinders Petrie also worked, supported by Amelia Edwards. Edwards made him first incumbent of the Edwards Professor of Egyptology and Philology at University College London in 1890.

Wallis Budge and Flinders Petrie were known adversaries as they diverged radically in their archaeological methods and interpretations (Drower, 1995 pp. 124, 125, 200-1, 333). Wallis Budge was not beyond the grasp of Garstang's established networks, as he was a close colleague of Sayce and William Wright and would have been of noteworthy significance to Garstang given Wallis Budge's position at the British Museum and his excavations in Egypt, Meroë and Iraq. Sayce is thought to have maintained a good relationship with Wallis Budge; however he was based in London while Garstang was looking to develop his archaeological skill abroad. By taking up the position of apprentice with Flinders Petrie Garstang had curtailed the possibility of working in collaboration with the British Museum.

Garstang worked within parameters that mapped perfectly onto the idea of a British imperial method of neo-colonisation through knowledge collection as

expounded by Richards (1992). Nevertheless his knowledge of the geopolitical context of the Ottoman Empire and access to influential persons and institutions primarily supported his personal Hittite archaeological research interests.

These networks allowed him official access into Turkish territory but it could be argued that Garstang's most significant success in Anatolia was not the uncovering of Sakçagözü and Mersin but his methods of integration into the local culture, without which he would not have had access to these regions and sites despite his political connections. He was well respected on-site while directing work gangs made up of villagers from a multitude of belligerent groups. He was only able to access this manpower and collaboration through his knowledge of local languages (Arabic and basic Turkish) (University College London, Special Collections Archives, Garstang, IA/A/17, (henceforth UCLCA/IA/A/17), field notes 1903 and 1909; image 1.5), customs and the respect with which he treated local authorities (UoL, GM, Garstang-Pears corrs. 1908-09) (images 1.4, 1.5 and section 2.7).

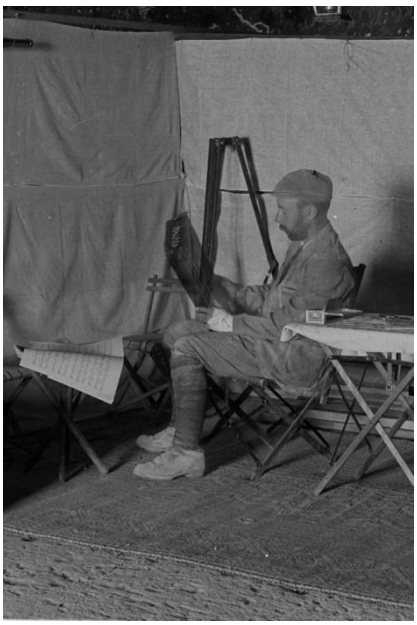


Image 1.4: On close-up this shows Garstang reading Arabic in Egypt, 1903 (UoL, GM, A-0686)

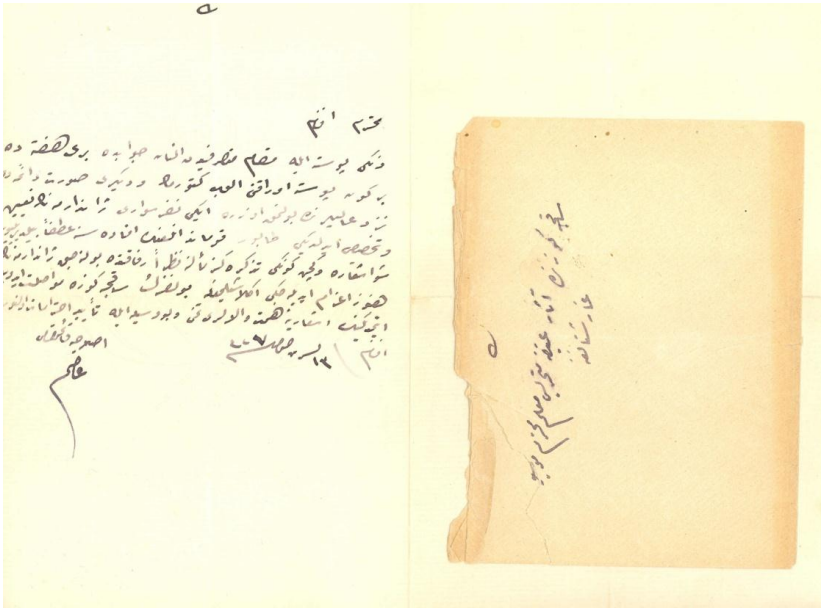


Image 1.5: Garstang's field notes, 1903, Arabic script exercises (Ref.: UCLCA/IA/A/17)

Image 1.6: Garstang's photograph of local workmen at Meroë, 1909 (UoL, GM, M-1230)

This knowledge of the local populations of the Ottoman Empire, along with his surveying skills, allowed him access to sites excavated with the cooperation of local people. This is evidence of his skills of diplomacy, which he utilised in Turkey both with central government and regional authorities. One result of his engagement with Turkish authorities was the establishment of the BIAA in 1947, which had the approval of the highly nationalistic Kemâlist Ministry of Antiquities. This ability to adapt local knowledge, personal connections and diplomatic skills to his best advantage are attributes generally attributed to agents of British neo-colonisation (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004, p. 353). Examples of this method can be observed in the

charting of Tibet by the British India Survey of 1865 (Das, 1902) and the British presence as depicted by Rudyard Kipling in *Kim* (1901, cited by Richards, 1993, pp. 5, 12). Within the sphere of archaeology, T. E. Lawrence's account of his knowledge collection and infiltration for state reconnaissance in the Near East is also familiar from his book *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1926). Officially Garstang was what one might call a minor 'structural node' (Richards, 1992, p. 108) acting as a British agent within a disciplinary network (i.e. archaeology) that was indirectly utilised both within the academic and political realm. Personally Garstang chose to utilise his skills and the opportunities offered through these circumstances in a bid to improve access to this knowledge to native and Commonwealth scholars, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Two.

1.9 Resourcefulness of a British colonial archaeologist

The following section examines particular portrayals of excavation experiences as Garstang chose to transmit them to different recipients depending on their interests, revealing attitudes of Edwardian 'Orientalism' and colonialism. Resourcefulness is a useful and necessary requirement for all archaeologists working abroad and depending upon local amenities. This talent is apparent in Garstang when he was able to transform a perennial shortage of funds and on-site amenities in Egypt to his advantage. He responded by creating working and living spaces by transforming freshly excavated tombs into offices full of artefacts, or 'treasures' as he called them within his correspondence to his funders (NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/V4-3 PF #42, Letter and 9 photographs, Garstang-Danson, 25th January, 1908). He was knowingly propagating the Romantic Edwardian colonial desire of uncovering and 'rescuing antiquity from the primitive savage' (Bahrani, 2003, p. 25) to claim it as their own. The descriptions of the living quarters he transmitted through his letters similarly play on the exotic imagery the West had of the 'Orient', describing draped muslin and so on (images 1.7):

> [...]Our house is nearly ready and promises to be very comfy. My brother is helping us with the 'trimmings' – he has festooned the dining room with white Muslim and pinch bars. (JG provides a sketch of the layout of the 'house') Harold Jones has a young architect, George, here who is a gold medallist and a fine fellow …Until the last day or two we have hardly had a

> place to sit down at, but tomorrow we are expecting visitors and we have been having a tidy in consequence.[...]
>
> [...]Our house looks like a church with a tower and flagpole …We are finding no end of antiquities. Already we have more than a hundred stelae, some of which are very decorative and all interesting. Our best piece is a bronze Osiris figure about 18 inches high in beautiful condition. [...]

(NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/VI 1-1, PF #64, Letter Garstang-E.Danson, 18th January, 1907).

On the other hand he did not wish the setting to appear too alien to his Edwardian excavation committee and thus he went to the effort of setting up tennis courts, golf courses and picnics in the desert to entice his funders into further supporting his excavation projects (NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/VI 1-1, PF #64, Letter Garstang-E.Danson, 18th January, 1907; NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/V4-3, PF #42, Letter and 9 photographs, Garstang-Danson, 25th January, 1908). The discrepancy between this created image and the reality he experienced while working in Egypt and Turkey is apparent in the letters he sent to his colleagues. In these more candid letters he wrote of fleas, mosquitoes, malaria, bad food, difficulties with looters and other such discomforts that would not have complied with the Edwardian fantasy of the exotic 'Orient' (Hawkins, 2003, p. 220).

Images 1.7 aandb: T: Tomb as muslin draped bedroom, Egypt and B: Tomb as office, Egypt, 1907 (UoL, GM, G-164; B-0685)

Garstang's ability to network was backed up by a personal canny resourcefulness which allowed him to maximise the opportunities he was offered. This came in useful from early on in his career. Records of expenses declared in the IoA Annual Reports, the financial records of various Excavation Committees, and correspondence between the Institute and the University Finance Committee make it apparent that money was always in short supply. However, in 1909 Garstang offered to put forward a quarter-share (£25) towards the Abydos Fund Committee on his wife's behalf. He made it clear that he was only doing it to amuse her since she 'takes a delightful interest in these discoveries' (NML, MMAL, FCD, PF #142 Letter Garstang-Danson, 12th February 1909). It appears that Garstang was strict about keeping his personal life and work in matters of finance separate. He must have had personal funds to live on to augment the wage he received from the IoA as accounts demonstrate that the funds contributed by the excavation committees only applied to excavation costs (UoL, GM).

A recurring issue on site was the lack of office and accommodation quarters for staff and visiting excavation committee members. These visiting groups regularly brought other wealthy acquaintances with them and therefore it would have been to Garstang's advantage to present their friends' investment and the site in its best possible condition. In 1903 whilst digging at Beni Hasan, Egypt (Garstang, 1903) he lived within the empty tombs with visitors and workmen (Garstang, 1950, pp. 206-7). However, later on Mrs Garstang was responsible for the 'housekeeping' and for making the site as comfortable as possible. Garstang expressed great pride in his

wife's efforts (Abbot, 1947) which extended to establishing tennis courts and golf links around the Beni Hasan site to ensure his visitors were suitably entertained.

> [...] My brother had planned out some golf links which are great sport. Our opening round was 50 – 53 for him, bogey being 35. He won 1 up [...]

(NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/VI, PF #64, Letter Garstang - E. Danson, 18th January, 1907)

> Our latest achievement has been to construct a tennis court which promises to be ready in about 5 days' time. We are hoping that when it is marked the rain will not come and wash out the lines and with some probability of the hope being fulfilled - at the moment it is midday with a tremendous sunlight and warmth pouring down.

(NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/V, PF #42, Letter and 9 photographs, Garstang – Danson 25th January, 1908)

There is a noticeable shift of tone in Garstang's reports back from Turkey which coincides with the end of the Edwardian era. It could be inferred that Garstang was no longer able to depend upon the romanticised British perception of the exotic 'Orient' which he clearly encouraged in his correspondence and photographs for the sake of gaining further funds from his excavation committee members. The tone of his letters and photographs he sent back from Turkey no longer depicted cavernous treasure troves and muslin draped bedrooms (images 1.7aandb). Instead he chose to portray idealised pioneering British discovery. He wrote of voyages, forded rivers, half hidden antique architecture and sculpture recognised along dusty roads travelled by long horse rides (Garstang, 1910, *passim*; image 1.8), in caravans and carts, while sleeping in tents and washing in streams (image 1.9).

> [...] lunch with Makridi Bey. Taken over lower temples and shown in a trench of excavation myriad fragments of tablets sticking in channel side. Their profusion was astounding [...] Food beastly, bugs ghastly.

(Hawkins, 2003, p. 220)

Once again to his colleagues he wrote of the reality of such an endeavour, which was poor food, snakes, malaria and unhelpful local authorities, whilst to his funders he wrote of recognising and staking his (British) claim to mounds where he uncovered unknown temples and artefacts of a forgotten empire, thus perpetuating

the imperialist view of knowledge acquisition, even in reduced circumstances (Hawkins, 2003, p. 220).

Image 1.8: Garstang travelling in Anatolia, 1907 (UoL, GM, MISC-H-004)

Image 1.9: Garstang and Thomas Eric Peet bathing in a river in Turkey, 1907 (UoL, GM, SG-004)

1.10 Photography as a portrait of the Edwardian archaeologist

Although not a new technology in itself, Garstang followed Flinders Petrie's example, and he can be considered as an early advocate of photography as a method of archaeological recording. The 'Hittite' photographic slide archive section at the Garstang Museum (UoL) was never subdivided into further categories. Evidence for the difference of function between the four categories described

below is derived from the images themselves. Garstang mentions photographs documenting his excavations, travels, excavation committee visits, and artefacts found during various digs numerous times in his correspondence, both private and through the IoA as found in the Danson (FCD) archives at NML. Photographs were variously sent privately to excavation committee members and exhibited at the correspondent seasonal artefact exhibitions held in London and Liverpool (all letters Garstang-Danson unless otherwise stated: NML, MMAL, FCD D/D/V 4-2, PF #39 printed document 1909, #40 letter Bosanquet - Danson, 19th January 1908; D/D/V 4-3, PF #42 letter and 9 photographs 1908, #46 letter 1907, #47 letter 1907; D/D/VI 1-6, PF #129 letter Bosanquet - Danson 17th July 1908; D/D/V 2-31, PF #316 letter and photographs Bosanquet - Danson 28th July 1907, #328 letter 1907). There is a marked difference between scenes which are obviously posed (keeping in mind the process necessary for taking photographs in the 1900s) for the purpose of documenting archaeological survey and discovery funded by the excavation committees and relaxed images bound for himself or the archives at the institute. The themes represented in Garstang's Turkish photographic collection, taken during his Anatolian excursions of 1907 and 1908, can be seen to fall into four categories.

Firstly, the 'British voyage of discovery': creating a chronological record of the scenery, roads and villages he came across and a new map of Hittite sites within Near Eastern territories (e.g. images 1.12a, bandc). Within this category I also include the depictions of their neatly posed tents, caravans and carts (e.g. image 1.11). Secondly, the 'voyage of anthropological or ethnographic discovery' documenting the local population, their dress, habitation and work, all of which were carefully posed. Thirdly, the 'archaeological discoveries' section holds the specific images of archaeological excavations, architecture and artefacts. The fourth category includes images of the 'British colonial agent in the East'. In one such image Garstang posed onsite at Sakçagözü in his white suit and pith helmet, taking notes and surrounded by locals wearing kaftan, shalwar and turban, wielding pickaxes and shovels uncovered archaeological evidence for the furthering of the knowledge archive of the British Empire (image 1.10). Considering the process and cost of photography at the time it is very apparent when a photograph is carefully

staged to project a particular message and a personal one where individuals are clearly relaxed by comparison.

The Egyptologist James Edward Quibell, another pupil of Flinders Petrie, remarked that in his opinion Garstang would not be particularly remembered for his archaeological work but rather for 'the perfection of his desert appearance' (Lindon Smith 1956, p. 91). The American artist Joseph Lindon Smith met Garstang at Saqqara in 1908 at the Djoser Pyramid in particularly dusty conditions. He reported Garstang's appearance as 'immaculate in breeches and high riding boots, very much polished. And when he came down from Zoser's Pyramid, he was just as immaculate – boots and all' (Lindon Smith, 1956, p. 91). Garstang knew the power of careful symbolic representation.

Image 1.10: Garstang in full colonial suit with pith helmet with local workers on site, Sakçagözü, 1910 (UoL, GM, SG-036)

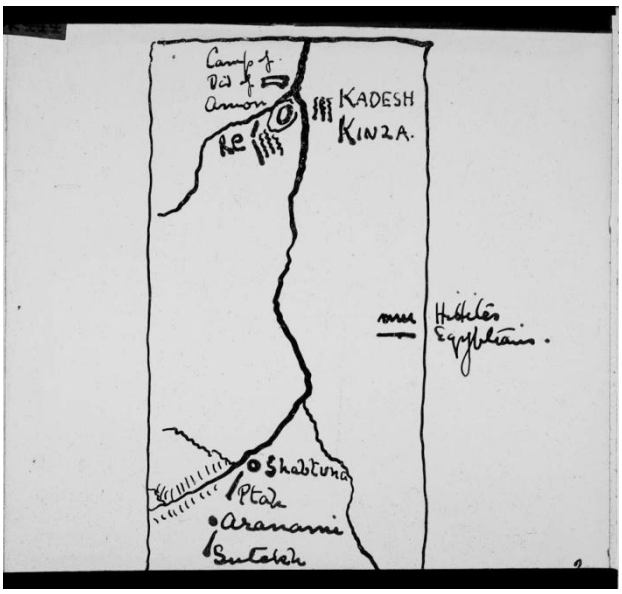
Garstang wore this colonial uniform of white suit and pith helmet in photographs destined to be seen by British funders (e.g. images 1.10 and 1.11) at his seasonal artefact exhibitions in London (*The Times*, 1903, 1905, 1906). The white pith helmet was *de rigeur* British colonial headwear in sunny colonies and it became a lasting symbol of imperial authority and the expected compliance to the regime (Yekani, 2011, p. 89). The intended message was clear: British colonisation through the acquisition of archaeological and anthropological knowledge for his sponsors as

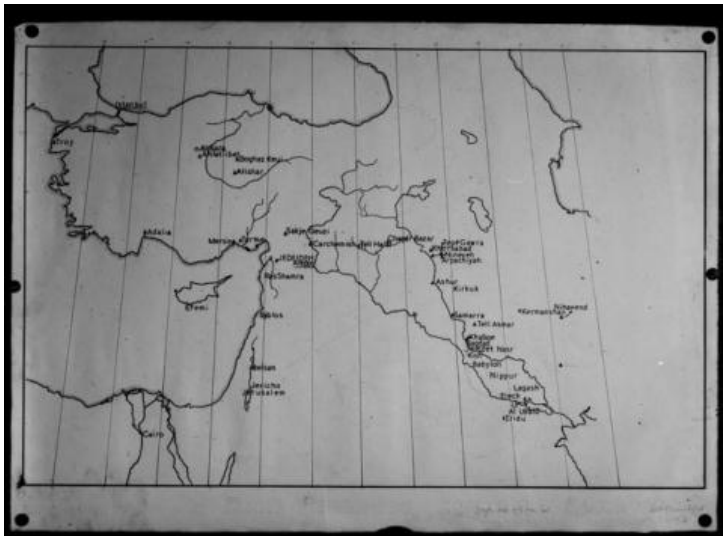
representatives of the British Empire and for himself as an agent of British values and culture. This was the same method that had been applied by British explorers during the late 1890s who annexed territories for the Empire despite having no tangible military hold over them at all. One such case is that of the Scott Expedition who claimed territory for Britain while lost in the Antarctic, thinking they were at the South Pole (Richards, 1992, p. 2). However, there is a significant difference here in that Garstang was working within an established imperial system and consciously portraying colonial symbols for his own archaeological interests. Photographs 1.8, 1.10 and 1.11 are carefully composed with the pith helmet playing a central role. These can be compared to photographs 1.6, 1.9 and 1.13 where Garstang was not posing for a professional audience, though photograph 1.13 could arguably be utilised in both contexts.

Image 1.11: Garstang with Schliephack and Peet in a composed Sakçagözü campsite, 1908. Note pith helmet taking centre stage (UoL, GM, SG-003)

The four categories defined above reflect the utility of what can be called the British blueprint for neo-colonisation through a mediated use of intelligence collected nomadically through geographical reconnaissance, knowledge of state ethnography, methodical records (maps, diaries, and photographs) and the selective dissemination of such information (Richards, 1992, p. 112). Garstang used all these aspects to compile what became his seminal *The Land of the Hittites* book in 1910 and to garner financial support for further excavations, publications (NML, MMAL,

FCD, D/D/V 2-31, PF #328, letter Garstang - Danson 16th February 1907) artefact exhibitions and free public lectures. The cost of the 1910 publication was taken care of by Danson, despite Danson's lack of interest in Hittite discoveries. His networking skill and loyalty stood him in good stead (Garstang, 1910).





Images 1.12a, and b: 2 photographs by Garstang, 1907 depicting his geographical mapping process in the Near East (T-B: UoL, GM, LS1-R-444, SG-277)

Garstang's work on Hittite sites began at the very end of the Edwardian period of British economic and military world dominance. The British Empire still existed, however its waning strength and signs of the increasing doubt in its viability had been present within the professional middle classes from the very beginning of this era. H.B. Cox, a legal expert at the Colonial Office noted: 'The British Empire won't last another hundred years, if so long…' (Hyam, 1999, pp. 50-1) while the British

Rajah of Sarawak stated in 1907 that ‘before we reach the middle of the century all nations now holding large Colonial possessions will have met with severe reverses…India to a certainty will be lost to us’ (Hyam, 1999, p. 50). A lot of evidence for this Imperial pessimism has been published already (Hyam, 1999, pp. 50-1; Taylor, 1964, pp. 105-38). The words to the coronation ode of King Edward VII, 'Land of Hope and Glory', fittingly was to become the anthem to the British Empire, and was written by A.C. Benson, an Etonian schoolmaster and later a popular Cambridge don. Even Benson was to write in his diary and confess his disillusionment with the empire and its implicit belief of British culture as being superior to those it colonised:

> The 'Empire', thus treated, leaves me cold.[...] The world at large, outside of the people I can actually touch and know, seems to me a great dim abstraction. I am not in the least interested in the human race, nor can I back our race against all races. I believe in our race, but I don't disbelieve in theirs.

(Hyam, 1999, p. 47)

Image 1.13: Garstang’s rumpled suit and flat cap with local Ottoman authorities, 1908 (UoL, GM, G-165)

1.11 Conclusion

Analysing Garstang’s writing, both published and personal, from a post-colonial perspective one does not get the impression that Garstang ever felt any sense of *cri de coeur* to the cause of Empire as a British archaeologist working in the Near East.

This ambivalence within archaeologists of the time who found themselves to be functionaries of empire abroad (either within official or unofficial British territories) over and above their role as archaeologist (e.g. Woolley (1956), Lawrence (1926), Hogarth (2011), Schliephack (Nicolle, 1994) is not immediately apparent in Garstang's career or personal life. He was inevitably caught up in a somewhat politically-charged role when working in Jerusalem for the British Government but his actions and opinions were evidently not those of one who felt strong allegiance to any particular nation.

> I saw the possibility that a moderate, just and sane policy on these lines might secure for the world a peaceful Palestine, where the nationals of all races could enjoy the fruits of their labours and visitors from all countries could travel freely to see the Holy Places and historical monuments and perform their devotions in quiet, […]. So I devised a scheme of routes and tours, of guards trained in courtesy, of well conducted hotels and other features of an ordered Service that would ensure these ends, and provide from tourist fees for the upkeep of the monuments if not for the whole administration of the country – but all in vain. The scheme was swept aside, […]'

(Garstang, 1950, p. 220)

He was dedicated to his vocation as an archaeologist and primarily he acted upon no other interest. Notwithstanding, what is clear is that he was able to do this only through applying typical British colonial methods of networking, projecting a colonial stance for his own advancement in his photos and pandering to the 'orientalist' interests of wealthy middle class merchants, for whom the Empire was essential, to facilitate his career.

Essentially, by pooling funds from this audience for the discovery and dispersal of archaeological knowledge Garstang was able to democratise, popularise, and, to a degree, de-exoticise Near Eastern archaeology through the integration of the IoA into the University of Liverpool, and the later establishment of international institutes in Palestine, and Turkey as well as his various publications and journal. He was able to hold regular free lectures at these venues as well as at museums, attended by the general public and students alike (Allan, 1931). Garstang utilised

his collection of lantern slides to illustrate his public lectures which were highly popular (NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/V 4-3, PF #59 undated document titled 'Finance Committee'; Hawkins, 2003, p. 232; Millard, 2010, pp. 48-9). A result of his attempts to widen the student demographic was the first female keeper of antiquities, Ms Elaine Tankard, who was an alumna of the Institute at Liverpool, whilst there is record of at least one instance when he visited schools to stimulate an interest in reading archaeology at university and promoted it as a profession (*The Times*, 1925). He went further by applying archaeological innovation with W.F. Albright's (pottery classification methods - Albright, 1922, pp. 9-10), Flinders Petrie's survey methods (Drower, 1995, pp. 34-67) and the technology he had at hand (photography), to record and disseminate both archaeological and anthropological observations. Most pertinently for this thesis he was able to fund the attainment of his Neo-Hittite collection as well as the early plaster casts which made up the 'Hittite Collection' display at the Liverpool Public Museum.

In the Near East he established the BSAJ and the BIAA, while adhering rigidly to the local authorities' regulations throughout. This is another difference between Garstang's work ethics and others in his field, as is apparent in their correspondence (see Appendix Ten). Comparing archaeologists such as Lawrence to Garstang is essentially equating a colonialist mentality with a modern one. This is apparent in the way the careers of Lawrence, Woolley and Hogarth developed following the outbreak of the First World War. All three were keen to stay in the Near East during the off-season for excavation. They were willingly recruited by the British Foreign Office for the duration of the war (Chapman & Gibson, 1996, p. 95). All three published autobiographies portraying themselves as British adventuring heroes in the exotic orient, harking back to the old colonial stereotypes (Lawrence, 1926; Woolley, 1956).

Garstang had no interest in creating such a persona for himself, and contributed to the war effort as an ambulance driver with the Red Cross in France. In 1913 Lord Kitchener had, through the British Foreign Office, attempted to recruit Thomas E. Peet as well, who had also declined (Chapman & Gibson, 1996, p. 95). Kitchener and

Garstang were well acquainted and one cannot imagine that Garstang had not been approached to contribute his knowledge of the region. Garstang was, as Sir Henry Maine described colonial administrators in India, a man "bound to keep true time in two longitudes at once"(Bhabha, 2007b quoting Maine, 1875). By working through an essentially British imperial system to maintain a flourishing career dedicated to archaeology in a region which demanded that he acknowledged the superiority of local authorities he acted in much the same manner any British colonised subject would in Britain.

To conclude, it is my view that Garstang was a modernist archaeologist in the sense that he demonstrated that his methods were ethically and academically appropriate leading the way for later archaeologists. Though through necessity he operating in a colonial mode who utilised the Imperial excavation committee method while these funding members were still interested in receiving a return in the form of desirable artefacts for their private collections. Quotations such as these from his letters are evidence of this:

> I am in Luxor for a day or 2 with my wife and have managed to pick up a nice lot of stone and prehistoric vases some of which will I think look well among your collection. Mr Rea [another excavation committee member] is here and is plunging heavily on vases too, he seems determined that his collection shall lick yours! He must have spent several hundred pounds. I will write a note later of what exactly I have for you. The stones for Sedbergh are all ready, but I have not been able to get hold of a carpenter. Consequently they will be packed and sent with our general consignment about the middle of April […]

(NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/V 2-32, PF #107 letter Garstang - Danson 18th March, 1908)

> […] I shall probably not go on with the Egyptian excavations. The Hittite work is inge [?] and full of promise and I cannot do both well at the same time. Perhaps when I am old and "tired" I may be able to do something more in Egypt. Meanwhile we shall have finished our concession at Abydos. I wish we could get 12 for this season – do you think you could persuade Mr Horsefall to come in […] I have asked Mr Rankin to send you on some Hittite photos to see.

(NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/V 2-32, PF #137 letter Garstang - Danson 5th December, 1908)

Subsequently the Hittite Excavations Committee 1908 listed in the Institute's Annual Reports as only Sir J. Brunner, Martyn Kennard, L. Mond and R. Mond, with R. Brocklebank, later replacing L. Mond, F.C. Danson had declined to contribute due to lack of interest in Hittite artefacts. Garstang adapted to socio-political situations as necessary, and conceded full acknowledgement to students and authorities alike, of any nationality, regardless of cultural perceptions as demonstrated in the full acknowledgments given in his reports published in the LAAA (1908-1937). He continually sought innovation and the democratisation of knowledge within his field through publication, lectures and the early establishment of institutes of archaeology, both in the UK and abroad. In the following chapter I will go further into the preceding and contemporaneous political landscape and social parameters Garstang was working with in Turkey, and Palestine and the excavation committees he established in the United Kingdom to support that work.

Chapter Two: Archaeologists as agents of Empire abroad

Introduction

The following chapter addresses similar issues of knowledge collection methodologies in an Edwardian European environment of academic and political collaboration within which Garstang functioned in Ottoman territories. This marks Garstang's second phase in his career development whereby he loses the backing of the earlier private excavation committee members seeking to increase their antiquities collections and instead operates through the IoA in Liverpool in full collaboration with the Ottoman Antiquities department in Istanbul. It is not my intention to give a detailed account of Ottoman history here but an understanding of the international socio-political context into which Garstang was introduced once he started working with Sir Edwin Pears and Osman Hamdi Bey in Istanbul is essential to the overall aims of this thesis. This is where Garstang conducted his Anatolian surveys and excavations which resulted in the 'Hittite Collection' gallery in the Liverpool Public Museum. This discussion follows a similar process of using identified key networks and political circumstances through case studies where Garstang gained access to archaeological sites in Asia Minor at a politically tumultuous time. Edwardian neo-colonisation through the establishment of support networks within this foreign territory came to the fore at this point as the British Edwardian network functioned in an international arena of similar functioning Western networks all vying for the same knowledge, contacts, controls and power (O'Sullivan, 1996; Cohen and Kolinsky, 1998).

2.1: In the 20th century - Istanbul

In 1910 Abdül Hamid II's reign, described as 'bloodstained' by Western travellers, had given way to the Young Turks movement (Jackson, 1923, p. 144; Zürcher, 2010; McCarthy, 2010). This new government became outwardly more open to foreign nations and Westernisation. However, articles in the *Le Jeune Turc* newspaper

lamented the lack of Turkish control over commerce within Ottoman territories (Lewental, 2014). Pears, as a British lawyer at the Consulate, confided to friends his view that this new liberal Turkish government would only yield to its Ottoman heritage and govern with the same vices but without the unifying effects of Islam (Jackson, 1923, pp. 148-9). During the first few years of Turkish modernisation ambivalence was apparent in Western countries regarding how much Turkey was prepared to repudiate its Ottoman praxis, leaving its political position open to influence and negotiation (see Appendix Twelve).

Despite the general pessimism in the West, Garstang, Pears and Jackson agreed that during the early 1900s the Young Turks greatly facilitated the activities of visiting foreigners within the Ottoman territories (Garstang, 1908c, p. 98; Jackson, 1923, p. 148). Prior to the WWI military occupation of Istanbul by the Western Allies, the city's economy was already in the hands of Western nations as the Ottoman Empire had declared bankruptcy (Eldem, 2005, pp. 431-45). It was a European imperial colony in all but name. Like Smyrna, modern İzmir, the Golden Horn was populated almost exclusively by foreign vessels, the warehouses owned and filled with oriental commodities by Anglo-French mercantile houses (*The Times*, 1921; Jackson, 1923, p. 149). The city's architecture was built by Europeans and their commercial businesses run by Greeks and Armenians (e.g. the Ottoman Bank at Galata). The Ottoman Public Debt committee was run and presided over by Englishmen (e.g. Sir Vincent H.P. Caillard), French and Germans (Jackson, 1923, p. 149).

This foreign presence in commerce and bureaucracy had been encouraged by Abdul Hamid II during the late 19th century whilst attempting to create a Western-educated Turkish élite (highly educated and socially advantaged through family connections) loyal to his person who would curb ethnic minority merchants. This resulted in a bifurcated Ottoman middle class strata divided between those who used their Western ideas of Enlightenment to form a bureaucratic network which ultimately brought down the Sultanate, and an ethnically segregated Ottoman

commercial sector which sought allegiances with Western politics (Göçek, 1996). School educated ethnic minorities (both Ottoman and foreign) were resented and expounded against regularly by the nationalist Western-educated bureaucratic middle class in their paper, *Le Jeune Turc* (Jackson, 1923).

At the turn of the 20th century there was no really clear point for cultural demarcation between the notional 'Orient' and the Christian West in Istanbul except for the city's faith. Istanbul was simply an international marketplace situated in the East. Maintaining a Euro-American presence in the city required a control of geopolitical knowledge, geographic access, and economic administration. Culturally and economically Turkey held no real ownership over its own territories while Istanbul functioned as a joint Western trade route and blockade (McMeekin, 2010, p. 79). This was an unstable international environment where the Young Turks, despite the native cosmopolitan demography of Istanbul and their claims of liberalism, banned any nation, apart from Turks, from joining as party members. The British opinion at the consulate was that they would revert back to 'primitive Oriental' (Bahrani, 2003, p. 85) inescapable from its 'semi-nomadic Asiatic temperament' which produced good foot-soldiers but no leaders (Jackson, 1923, p. 150). In 1923, aged 88, Sir Thomas Edward Jackson, a benighted, Royal Gold Medallist Liberal architect alumnus of Oxford, inherently of the last Victorian generation, believed that Istanbul was a Christian city and the Turk was the intruder (Jackson, 1923, p. 151).

It is due to this distrust and discomfort that Occidental nations competed between themselves to maintain their hold and influence on the region and its information networks. Similarly a duality is also apparent in the Turkish unionist and republican policies of facilitation of transit for Westerners, who simultaneously rejected multiculturalism within their own nation. They wished to maintain their trading relationships with the West for their political existence; yet they were contemporaneously internally riling against this form of neo-colonisation by the West. This is a duality also apparent within the conception and creation of Turkish museums initiated during the last days of the Ottoman Empire.

2.2 Western influence in Turkish museums

The idea of the museum as a display of wealth and heritage was initiated in Turkey as an attempt at Westernisation under Ottoman rule (Madran, 2002, pp. 48-50). In 1869 the refurbished Ottoman Imperial Museum was opened as the empire faltered and the projected ideology shifted towards territorial protectionism and focussed upon Europeanised heritage (Shaw, 2003). Collections in this museum included weapons, coins, and a majority of Greek, Roman and Byzantine artefacts (Shaw, 2004, p. 87). In other words, owning these heritage relics was seen as an indication of inclusion in European culture through Ottoman possession. Despite these first steps into heritage management there was little local interest or understanding of the potential for national identity held by such institutions. The conservation of the archaeological artefacts was handed over to Europeans.

The 1868 report for the government of the Sublime Porte stated that:

> Based on the exact information contained in the chronicles of ancient times, it is known and clear to all that there are more antiquities held in the Ottoman Domains than in other lands; and the fact that the museums of Europe are filled and decorated with antiquities generally taken from here is evident proof of this argument. [...] it is clear that it should not be acceptable that we should still not have a museum, and that if this is allowed to continue any longer, it is evident that those places where it is hoped that antiquities will be found and that have not yet been searched will also be excavated and all the valuable, important and rare objects that they contain will gradually be extracted and transported away.

(Arşivi, 1868, İ.ŞD, 11/547 (3)

The French archaeologist, Albert Dumont outlined his concerns regarding archaeology in Turkey in a letter dated 1868 after compiling a first catalogue of the Ottoman Imperial Museum collections:

> In Hagia Irene's galleries, the antique sculptures, reliefs, and inscriptions are exhibited disorderly. Most of the artefacts are examined inadequately due to the archaeologically irrelevant objects displayed in front of them; and the others are suffering more and more from lack of care and dampness every passing day. The most regrettable point is that the original places of the

> artefacts are not reliably noted. The labels, which are not affixed, mostly give the place of origin as 'outside of Istanbul'.

(Cezar, 1987, p. 14)

It in fact appears that the very concept and development of heritage and its conservation through display was very much promoted and led by a variety of European interested parties with largely mixed results, until the appointment of Osman Hamdi Bey. Yet Hamdi Bey depended upon foreign influence to facilitate the progress of heritage development in Ottoman Turkey due to lack of interest from the Sublime Porte. Sir Henry Elliot from the British Embassy in Istanbul petitioned Turkish statesmen to conserve their heritage and installed Mr Goold, an English schoolmaster at Galatasaray, to classify the antiquities that had been left to deteriorate in the yard of Hagia Irina. In 1871 he published a catalogue which received little public notice (Caillard, 1900, p. 133). Goold was followed by Mr. M. Ferinzio, an Austrian artist, who unpacked the antiquities which had arrived from the provinces years previously (Cezar, 1987, p. 14). The following year Anton Déthier, a German classicist, was made scientific advisor within the Ministry of Education dealing with the monetary and historical value of 'Oriental' artefacts. Immediately Western beliefs as to the value of antiquities and their cultural management were applied and put into play by Western advisors.

Vincent Caillard, director of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, recounted that Déthier refused to remove any artefacts from the site of Pergamon to transport them to Istanbul. This was being excavated by a German team led by Carl Humann (Construction Engineer) and Alexander Conze (Director of Antiquities at the Berlin Museum) in 1878. Déthier stated to the Imperial Ottoman Ministry that under the new antiquities laws:

> Hundreds of pounds would be necessary to transport to Constantinople the share of the Imperial Museum, which unhappily is the larger. Those fools of madmen, the Germans, propose to us to buy our share for one thousand napoleons! Can you conceive giving so much money for dirty, broken, misshapen pieces of marble? There are, God be thanked, in the Ottoman Empire numberless marble quarries from which we can, if we want them,

> extract clean blocks of marble at a much cheaper price. Let us, then, accept the German money and congratulate ourselves on a good riddance.

(Caillard, 1900, p. 133)

It appears that Déthier was indeed exploiting Eastern attitudes towards antiquities for Germany's interests. The Gigantomachy is to this day displayed within the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. The Imperial Ministry was not concerned with the intrinsic value of these archaeological finds, its interests lay with the political favour it could garner in Europe. Museums in Turkey functioned as metonyms of modernization, Western collusion, and resistance of foreign influence rather than to address the historical value of the artefacts as it was understood by Western institutions. Archaeology as a political metonym for territory and identity was not fully recognised during the late Ottoman period (Shaw, 2011, p. 929). Concerned European institutions took full advantage of this situation; however it was implemented, on the basis of mutually consenting agreements.

Only when Déthier died was the first Turkish director, the westernised Osman Hamdi Bey, appointed (Caillard, 1900, p. 136). However he unsuccessfully petitioned the Ministry of Public Instruction, the Grand Vizier and the Sultan and attempted to convince anyone influential that archaeology was a valuable source worth investing in. The Çinili Köşk, in Sultanahmet, was to be turned into a museum which sought to tie the Ottoman identity with its European antiquities heritage and European assistance was recruited in the form of Salomon Reinach (Keeper of National Museums in Paris) and the French ambassador Charles-Joseph Tissot (Caillard, 1900, p. 136). With difficulty Hamdi Bey founded the Ottoman Museum Library in 1893 by donating his collection of archaeological texts and subscribing the library to journals and publications covering various humanities subjects in a variety of languages at his own expense (Caillard, 1900, p. 149).

Hamdi Bey turned to his family and British acquaintance Caillard for the leverage and funds necessary to construct a new museum building, which today is the Istanbul Archaeology Museum. This was designed by Alexandre Vallaury (a French-Ottoman architect) in the Ionic style, much to Caillard's approval (1900, p. 138). The construct of the conservation of heritage for the sake of knowledge archiving,

education and posterity was very much an imported European concept which did not translate easily during the Ottoman period, even to the highest social echelons. The European-educated Kemâlist republican members were the first to be in a position to appreciate the significance of heritage and thus archaeology was to find its purpose as a political tool, while museums acquired a quantifiable national value in the new Turkish Republic.

In 1904, upon arriving in Istanbul, Garstang was introduced to this international arena of unstable political collaborations, with various competitive Western neo-colonialist networks functioning against a backdrop of mutual distrust (section 1.8) (Miller 2010; Afflerbach and Stevenson, 2013).

The following chapter explores the extent to which Garstang used Hittite archaeology to actualize the Edwardian impression of the Near East at Liverpool, or if it was a case of utilizing a Western historical narrative to gain political and financial support to further his archaeological research for knowledge democratisation and native restitution.

2.3: Western archaeologists in 'Oriental' Turkey

By the 1870s the Western self-aggrandising archaeological methodologies of heedless acquisition disregarding native ownership or context (e.g. Frank Calvert, Heinrich Schliemann, and Luigi Palma di Cesnola) were decreasing mostly due to the realisation of the native antiquity authorities of the potential power held by restricting access and negotiating ownership (e.g. Osman Hamdi Bey's Antiquity Laws of 1874) (Silberman, 1990, p. 50; Robinson, 1994; Easton, 1998; Heuk Allen, 1999; Pilides, 2008).

America was to hold a strong presence in the Near East once WWI broke out, however its interests in the archaeological scene in the Near East had been apparent earlier (Heuck Allen, 2010, p. 9; Yaqub, 2004). American institutions catering for a diverse range of foreign nationals in Istanbul had been present since

the Crimean War (Noyes, 1928, p. 13; Powers, 1899; Jackson, 1923, pp. 160-1). Visits to Jerusalem were relatively easy and common and Christian Protestant missionaries were established within the Ottoman territories. American universities opened up research positions in ancient Near Eastern languages which were quickly filled by, mainly, German-trained historians (King, 1983). Collaboration between American and German academia, especially regarding Biblical studies, had commenced in 1815 when Edward Everett became one of the first Americans to gain a German doctorate in Classics from Göttingen, while George Bancroft also graduated there in 1820 and studied at Heidelberg and Berlin. Similarly Moses Stuart and Edward Robinson of Yale University translated German Biblical grammar texts and published extensively (Baird, 2002, pp. 20-1). Robinson went on to study at Halle and Berlin and focussed upon Biblical geographical reconnaissance in the Near East during 1838 and 1852 (Baird, 2002, p. 29).

These scholars imported the methods of Germanic Bible criticism to America and established an academic tradition of partnership between theological studies with classics, ancient history and later, archaeology (Robinson, 1856; Robinson, 1871; Baird, 2002, p. 22). This interest led to the founding of institutions such as the American Oriental Society (AOS) and the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) (est. 1879) which worked in collaboration with American religious missionaries established in the Near East (Ben-Arieh, 1979; Holod and Ousterhout, 2001, pp. 16-35). In 1865 the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) was established which developed a close collaboration with the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (DO-G, est. 1898) on various philological translations. During the late 1800s German requests for excavation permits and artefacts were more successful with the Ottoman authorities than those submitted by British archaeologists due to the close political relationship engendered by Kaiser Wilhelm II with Abdul Hamid II. Politically Germany and Turkey began an alliance in 1881 when France became an aggressor occupying Beylik Tunisia and 1882 following the loss of Egypt to Britain and the British intervention in Cyprus of 1897 (Hopkins, 1986, pp. 363-91). Close archaeological collaborations were a direct extension from the close political relationship that developed between Kaiser Wilhelm II and the Ottoman Pasha at

the turn of the century following the Crimean War and further alliances being forged in the run-up to the WWI. As discussed in the previous chapter, this European imperial knowledge collection methodology required informal nomadic agents relaying information back to their respective consuls in Istanbul.

In 1884 Gottlieb Schumacher, an American-born German archaeologist and engineer in the employ of the Ottoman government, conducted the first survey of the Haurān region in preparation for the construction of the Damascus to Haifa railway. The report was published by the PEF in 1889 *Across the Jordan: Being an Exploration and Survey of Part of Hauran and Jaulan*). Schumacher maintained a close working relationship with the PEF through publications and translations of his German Zietschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins articles for the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology of the Holy Land in Jerusalem (est. 1900). Significantly, between 1903 and 1905, he conducted excavations for the DO-G at Tell El-Mutesellim (Megiddo), suggesting that through Schumacher there was easy collaboration between German and British archaeologists working in Ottoman territories during the early 20th century (*The Times,* 1914a; *The Times,* 1914b). The PEF maintained a strong presence for British archaeology in Palestine, most significant here, is the survey of Western Palestine, conducted by Claude Conder and Horatio Kitchener (later 1st Earl Kitchener who facilitated Garstang's work at Meroë, Sudan, 1909) between 1871 and 1878 (PEF, 2014). By 1901 this situation of easy intercultural exchange of research started to change with the commencement of the patronage of Kaiser Wilhelm II of the DO-G and other political circumstances which reinforced the German and Ottoman partnership (DO-G, 2013). This led to the competitive situation between British and German archaeologists Garstang faced from 1906 until 1909 which stood in sharp contrast with the situation during the last years of the 19th century.

In collaboration with the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut,* the DO-G worked with the Ottoman Ministry of Antiquities in 1906 to excavate at Boğazköy, the identified Hittite capital city, Hattusha. Both German institutions had been continuously financially bankrolled by founder James Simon while Kaiser Wilhelm II endowed them from 1901 onwards (DO-G, 2013). Later on, excavation permits, and other

desirables, such as access to the oilfields of Iraq, were exchanged for infrastructural development in Turkey (e.g. Berlin to Baghdad railway) (Jastrow, 1914, p. 160). This enduring Turco-Germanic alliance continued until the break of WWII when an open invitation was made to German and Austrian academics to take up positions in Turkish universities (Reisman, 2006, p. 355). This then is the international cross-academic political context Garstang entered into in 1906.

Following the decipherment of the cuneiform Mesopotamian scripts by Archibald Sayce (1880), interest in the possibility of scientific proof to support the Biblical scriptures intensified. One of Garstang's close collaborators, William Foxwell Albright, became the director of the American School of Oriental Research in Palestine (ASOR) in 1920. He was also an alumnus of this American-Germanic academic tradition from John Hopkins University (Baltimore, Maryland). Albright was a student of the German assyriologist Hermann Hugo Paul Haupt, graduate of the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin, and who in 1903, was director of the Oriental Seminary at John Hopkins University as well as maintaining a lectureship in Göttingen (Heschel, 2008, p. 57). Albright was a product of German scholarship despite being American and this was the closest Garstang came to collaborating with German archaeological research. Albright was a significant member of Garstang's network for knowledge dispersal, democratisation and native restitution in Palestine.

The American excavation at Assos (1881-83) by the AIA precipitated the amendment of the Ottoman Antiquity laws by Hamdi Bey in 1884. It was an international archaeological debacle, in which the site was ravaged by Americans and Turks alike (Rose, 2008). The amended articles stated that all export of antiquities was banned unless the Director of the Museum said otherwise (PEF/DA/BLISS/131/1, PEF archives, London) (Cobbing & Tubb, 2005, p. 82). Meanwhile the 1889 Nippur excavation in Iraq by the University of Pennsylvania was held up as an exemplary project of international archaeological collaboration (Punnett Peters Jr., 1922; Wade Meade, 1974). This was partly directed by the German Prof. Hermann Vollrath Hilprecht (1859 – 1925) who had consolidated a strong German-Turkish professional relationship with Hamdi Bey. Furthermore

Hamdi Bey's position at the Ottoman Imperial Museum influenced the division of artefacts in Istanbul, as well as the excavation permits for international applicants (Holod and Ousterhout, 2001, pp. 16-35; V. Hilprecht, 1896, p. 301).

The University of Pennsylvania received many Nippur antiquities in return for professional archaeological services rendered in Turkey by the University. An honorary doctorate for Hamdi Bey (1894) and membership of the University Archaeology Association were also granted upon receipt of artefacts by Pennsylvania (Punnett Peters, 1899, p. 22). The University purchased the paintings 'At the Mosque Door' (1891) and 'The Excavations at the Temple Court in Nippur' (1904) both by Hamdi Bey, in return for the facilitation of excavations and access to artefacts for the American university (Punnett Peters, 1899, p. 6). These collaborative associations were possible due to the favourable circumstances offered to German scholars who had found positions in the US at the time. Appendix Three of this thesis gives a comprehensive discussion of Garstang's contemporary Osman Hamdi Bey who, as a Westernised Ottoman, utilised networking methods and concepts of Ottoman 'Orientalism' and Kemâlist appropriation of archaeological heritage for similar intentions of broader archaeological scholarship in Turkey (Hamdi Bey, Lindau, Launay, and Eldem, 2010; Eldem, 2011a).

Similar German arrangements and instances of favourable exchange with Turkey were recorded. Theodor Wiegand, transported the Miletus Agora Gate to the Pergamum Museum in Berlin (1908) and Otto Benndorf, took the majority of Ephesus finds to the *Kunsthistoriches Museum* in Vienna (Leonard, 2012). This is where Hamdi Bey held his first European art exposition in 1873 (Hamdi Bey and De Launay, 1873). The Louvre Museum Oriental Antiquities department in Paris arranged for the display and purchase of Hamdi Bey's painting, *Women in a Türbe* (1890) and elected him corresponding member of the Institut de France, in return for desirable antiquities in 1892 (Edhem, 2004, pp. 141-5). Similarly the Egyptian Antiquities Department and Museum in Cairo were effectively run by the French

following a political deal with the Ottoman Empire in 1858 (Reid, 2002, p. 93; Potts, 2012, p. 71). Flinders Petrie wrote that despite M. De Morgan, French director of the Egyptian Antiquities Department being accommodating he was competing directly with Gaston Maspero while digging at Tell- el-Amarna. As no Englishman was allowed into the Egyptian Antiquities Department at Cairo at this point he found himself at a disadvantage when applying for excavation permits (Flinders Petrie, 1894, p. 2).

Following the demise of Hamdi Bey (1910) his brother Halil Bey took his position of director of the Ottoman Imperial Museums of Istanbul. Despite being much more nationalistic he followed Hamdi Bey's methods of international archaeological negotiation until 1922 when all foreign Anatolian excavation permits were suspended following the looting of Sardis by George Horton of the American Executive Committee of the Society for the Excavation of Sardis (Leonard, 2012). British consuls expressed dismay at how well established and organised the German agents were in comparison with the British network in the Near and Middle East (Ceram, 1955, p. 44).

2.4: Garstang's support network in Istanbul

The following section provides context and discussion for themes of use and applicability of Garstang's 'old boys'' network in Istanbul; his working relationship with German Hittitologists; his use of Christian missionaries and language at Sakçagözü, Turkey and his applicability of cultural awareness for the facilitation of international relations (British, various Turkish ethnicities, and Arabic) within the international political and academic context outlined above.

Sir Edwin Pears was Garstang's main British contact in Istanbul. They had been introduced by Mr Gerald Henry Fitzmaurice, Chief Dragoman at the British Embassy in Istanbul, who was in turn a powerful acquaintance of David G. Hogarth (Hogarth, 1978) and Percy Newberry (Chapter One). Pears had counted Hamdi Bey as an old

friend since 1880 (Pears, 1916, pp. 66, 176, 369) something which was to prove indispensable to Garstang's archaeological career in Turkey.

Pears had a personal interest in archaeology and he organised site visits for visiting foreign officials to which Hamdi Bey and his son Edhem were regularly invited (Pears, 1916, p. 320). Hamdi Bey was an archaeologist himself, worked at the sites of Nemrut Dağı (1883) and the Sidon Necropolis where he discovered what he thought was the sarcophagus of Alexander the Great (1887) (Hamdi Bey & De Launay, 1873, p. 175).

Pears was involved in the minutiae of the negotiations for Garstang's Hittite excavations in Turkey from 1906, when he introduced him to Hamdi Bey in Istanbul (Pears, 1916, p. 369). During these meetings Garstang was assured he would receive the permit to excavate at Boğazköy. In 1906 Garstang wrote to Pears for news of the permit and to put in a good word with Hamdi Bey for some positive action on his application (UoL, GM, letter Garstang - Pears April 1906). In June 1906 Pears wrote that, owing to the political situation in Turkey as described in the previous section, nothing would be permitted to an Englishman. Hamdi Bey's advice was that they wait until Abdul Hamid's government was in less disarray (UoL, GM, letter Pears - Garstang, June 1906). More correspondence from Pears assured Garstang that Hamdi Bey had completed all the paperwork and now that the 'new law' (likely the result of the Hague Convention of 1907 (Rothfield, 2009, p. 7) had been promulgated he should have his permit within a month (UoL, GM, letter Pears - Garstang 1907).

Garstang's correspondence allows for a detailed understanding of the intricacies of the British colonial functioning abroad within the confines of a region to which no official claim of power could be made. The notion of straightforward colonial might in Ottoman territories was undermined twice: firstly through the fact that Turkey

was not a British colony and secondly through the competitive presence of other imperialist nations utilizing a similar system of influence and knowledge acquisition. Garstang found himself in the midst of this situation in direct disadvantaged competition with German archaeologists.

One supposes that he, at this point in time, was not aware of the Near Eastern custom of personal 'gift giving', where a service of goodwill was presented to the Ottoman official in question in exchange for smoother permit application processes (Göçek, 1996, p. 55). Garstang was being promised the Boğazköy excavation permit after a standard application process in which he was told it had been approved in 1907 (NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/V 4-3, PF #47 letter Garstang - Danson, 7th March 1907, PF #49 letter Garstang - Danson, 8th March, 1907). In the meantime Theodore Makridi Bey, the Turkish archaeologist (Makridi Bey, 1908), had already been collaborating with the German Oriental Society since the previous year, surveying the same Boğazköy site Garstang had applied to excavate. Of course it was only once Garstang arrived in Istanbul in 1907 that he realised that he had lost his Boğazköy permit to excavate to Hugo Winckler. The reasons for this appear to have been political, as Kurt Wilhelm Marek, a German author, wrote under the pen-name of C.W. Ceram:

> One of the best British archaeologists [Garstang] had already received permission from the Turkish Government to dig at the city Texier had discovered at Boğazköy. At this time, however, the sabre-rattling German Kaiser, Wilhelm II, was on better terms with Abdul-Hamid II, the Sultan of Turkey, than was the government of King Eduard [sic] VII. The political amity rested on economic factors. In 1899 the Deutsche Bank had obtained the concession to build the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway, one of the greatest railroad projects in the world. No wonder it was the German and not the Englishman who received the firman [...] In granting this concession the Sultan was making a gesture of friendliness towards the Kaiser, who liked to appear as a patron of [German] archaeologists.

(Ceram, 1957, p. 42)

The evidence portrays British functionaries who, despite holding official positions and being well established in both the Edwardian European and Ottoman imperial networks, were still left hanging. This shows how highly politicised and powerful archaeological enquiry was at this time, a situation that has not diminished (Asli,

2010). A better arrangement offering political and personal status was expected by Ottoman officials or foreign applicants lost their bid entirely despite abiding by both the official laws and cultural and diplomatic protocol.

Disappointed by his failure to obtain the Boğazköy permit, Garstang embarked upon a reconnaissance mission to visit and record Hittite sites in central and south-eastern Turkey and north Syria in 1907 (*The Times,* 1907b; Garstang, 1908a) visiting the Boğazköy and Yazılıkaya sites along the way. The difficult balancing act of diplomacy and politics performed by foreign archaeologists with the Ottoman antiquities ministry has had far reaching consequences.

There is currently an enigma regarding Garstang's experience during this incident at Boğazköy with the German excavation team. In 1908 Garstang published two articles in the first volume of the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Garstang, 1908a, pp. 1-12 and 41-7). In the first he produced a list of dated photographs he took while travelling through Turkey. One of the entries records dates 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th of May at Boğazköy and Yazılıkaya where numerous photographs and squeezes were taken with Winckler's permission (Seeher, et al., 2012). Since the Boğazköy site was by then under the directorship of the German excavation party, Winckler might have reasonably requested that Garstang deposited the squeezes of the Yazılıkaya sculptures at the *Gipsformerei* at the National Museum in Berlin, which Garstang did in 1908 (Garstang, 1908a). The squeezes were used to create moulds for the production of casts that are still in the *Gipsformerei* today (Vorderasien Kataloge online, acc. 2014). Garstang commissioned a set of these casts which were shipped to Liverpool and displayed as part of the 'Hittite Collection' gallery at the Liverpool Public Museum in 1931 (Allan, 1931, pp. 26-8).

In this same article Garstang mentioned that the photographs were taken while they waited for the issue with his *firman* (permit) to be clarified (Garstang, 1908a, pp. 1-11). There is no specific reference to actually meeting Winckler, in fact Ceram wrote that Winckler turned up at the site too late in the season for this to have

occurred (1957, p. 56). These contradictions only add to the mystery of what actually happened at Boğazköy in 1908, whether Garstang met Winckler or not.

Garstang's second 1908 article is a review of Winckler's Boğazköy report (1908, pp. 41-7; Winkler, 1907). Garstang congratulated him on having been the first to have the initiative and ability to excavate here. He did not mention that he himself had identified the site in 1904, and received the permit to excavate in 1907. The reason for the delay with the permit response from Istanbul could now be explained (Boehmer, et al., 1987). Garstang gave indications that he assisted Winckler as an archaeologist rather than a simple visitor maybe simply through the process of recording the sculpture for his casts, however this is not elaborated upon (Garstang, 1908, pp. 42-7). There are discrepancies between German accounts and Garstang's own records regarding this incident with Winckler at Boğazköy. Where Garstang states that he assisted Winckler for three weeks in 1907 (Garstang, 1950), the German archives state that they missed each other by a day or so and probably never met (Alaura, 2006, p. 122; Seeher – Rutland email corr. 14 January 2013).

Garstang also claimed that Prof. Eduard Meyer (1855-1930), Winckler's director, had invited him back to the Boğazköy site for 1908 as joint site-director (Garstang, 1950, p. 223). There are no records of Meyer inviting an equal collaboration between Winckler and Garstang however this might have been an informal invitation. Furthermore the DO-G insisted on exclusive German language report publication, and would not allow the publication of an English version (Garstang, 1950, p. 224). This was not something Garstang's exploration fund committee could tolerate as it would have severely diminished the British contribution. This particular incident points to an increasing animosity from German academia towards other countries' interests in the Near and Middle East as early as the beginning of the 20th century. This further implicates the discipline of archaeology into European imperial designs of colonialism within these territories. Language in archaeology still plays a role in the latent colonisation of knowledge by Western empire today. The predominant languages of archaeology and anthropology articles and reports today are still English, German and French regardless which nations are portrayed therein, denoting national appropriation and ownership of the

knowledge held as part of the Western colonial inheritance. The incident above, where a bi-lingual publication between the German Oriental Society and Garstang was denied, specify the same principles of knowledge colonisation, language denoted ownership of knowledge – in this case, German ownership.

There is evidence that even though initially, and understandably, losing the Boğazköy permit disappointed Garstang his subsequent visit to Winckler, the squeezes taken and deposited in Berlin, and the publication of Winckler's preliminary report in the LAAA 1908 alongside his own Sakjegözü survey report (Garstang, 1908b) suggest that Garstang was adopting a position of international cooperation in the guise of scientific archaeologist seeking wider knowledge dispersal without intentions of colonialist nation ownership. Meyer's brother, Prof. Kuno Meyer (1858-1919), was Professor of Teutonic Languages (1894-1903) and Professor of Celtic at University College Liverpool (UoL, Special Collections archive, , Kuno Meyer Coll., P159) so such a collaborative invitation was not unlikely. As 1914 loomed the political dividing lines become even more apparent. Kuno promptly left the university and renounced all his British accolades and qualifications at the outbreak of WWI. The Meyers' subsequent political careers took them to the United States, where they lectured and published on the academic circuit against Britain appealing to the Irish-American demographic. They campaigned in support of Kaiser Wilhelm II against an allegiance between Britain and America (Roscoe Thayer, et al., 1915, pp. 235-6; Huether, 2006, pp. 234-8).

2.5 Sakçagözü and Osman Hamdi Bey

The following section explains aspects of Garstang's cross-cultural negotiations with Turkish nationals leading to his Sakçagözü excavations. At this point the excavation committee members Garstang had established in Liverpool became directly involved with the network he was creating in Istanbul. Sir John Brunner (section 1.6), an influential member of Garstang's Sakçagözü excavation committee was also a committed anti-Ottoman politician who had spoken out against the Ottoman regime when in government in 1896 (Brunner - Coplestone corr. 1896, quoting Koss,

1970, p. 180). He stated in a letter to T.E. Ellis that any 'material advantage got by the maintenance of the Turkish Empire is the very wages of sin [...]' (Koss, 1970, p. 170). Nevertheless Brunner's intervention was to be crucial in Garstang achieving the permit to excavate at Sakçagözü in 1907 (UoL, GM, letter Pears - Garstang 1906; NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/V 2-31, PF #328, letter Garstang-Danson 16th February 1907). On Pears' advice Brunner assisted Garstang by purchasing Hamdi Bey's painting *Young Emir Studying* for the Liverpool Art Gallery (now the Walker Art Gallery) in 1907 (Pears, 1916, p. 176). The following year Garstang received the permit to excavate at Sakçagözü (NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/V 2-31, PF #328, letter Garstang-Danson, 16th February 1907). Following the failure to dig at Boğazköy Garstang made all necessary efforts to ensure he involved the right people for the success of the Sakçagözü endeavour (UoL, GM, letter Garstang - Pears 1908).

Early in 1908 Garstang wrote to Pears on his way to Istanbul wishing to complete any further documentation regarding his Sakçagözü permit and to secure official authority in order to make the request effective with the *wali* (local authority) of Adana who had not been accommodating during his 1907 visit. Pears also arranged transit and letters of introduction to the Consul of Mersina (Mersin) (UoL, GM, letter Garstang-Pears 15th July 1908). Garstang was keen to assure Hamdi Bey of his "absolute loyalty to the terms and conditions under which [he was to] undertake the excavation. There [would] be no attempt at smuggling or any underhand work as far as [he was] concerned, and [would] in return be naturally very grateful to him [Hamdi] for facilities for securing duplicates or other specimens to repay [their] financial outlay to some extent" (UoL, GM, letter Garstang-Pears 1908). In October of 1908 Garstang wrote to Pears requesting that he consult Hamdi Bey regarding the box of duplicate specimens he had sent for him at the Imperial Museum and for a renewal of his permit for the following season (UoL, GM, letter Garstang-Pears October 1908).

Nine months later Garstang again wrote to Pears stating that had not heard regarding his box of Sakçagözü specimens or his permit, despite writing repeatedly to Hamdi Bey. Furthermore he was deferring work at Sakçagözü due to the unstable political situation with the Armenians in the Maraş and Aintab regions despite having officially resigned from his work in Egypt (UoL, GM, letter Garstang-Pears July 1909). The personal position Garstang found himself in due to the German-Turkish political situation translated into a greater imperative placed upon achieving the Sakçagözü permit. Hamdi Bey would have been aware of this.

Through his official positions in cultural politics at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Office of Foreign Press, and as Director of the Imperial Museum, and director of the Fine Arts Academy in Istanbul, Hamdi Bey was well placed to create professional and personal relationships with foreign government representatives to the advantage of both parties. It appears that Pears and Garstang had the opportunity to dine together in London that July 1909 and discussed how best to negotiate with Hamdi Bey (UoL, GM, letter Garstang-Pears, 9th August 1909).

The conditions were that Garstang would meet Hamdi Bey in Oxford to introduce him to members of the University and he would offer him an honorary degree from Liverpool. There are no records of this degree being awarded to him, though Garstang did receive his box of duplicate pottery (UoL, GM, accessions document). Some of this same pottery was on display in the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery in Liverpool from 1931 to 1941 (Allan, 1931). Two years later Hamdi Bey issued the permit to salvage the Carchemish site (1911) to A. Evans, D.G. Hogarth and W.M. Ramsey, working for the British Museum. They reciprocated by arranging for the same Oxford university to bestow the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law on Hamdi Bey in 1913 (Pears, 1916, p. 177).

Image 2.1: Osman Hamdi Bey received his Honorary Degree from Oxford University (Ref.: www.eslam.de/bildergalerien/o/osman_hamdi_bey/osman_hamdi_bey_bildergalerie08.jpg)

Garstang's main cultural barrier in Turkey was language. He understood the importance of speaking the local tongue while working in Egypt with Flinders Petrie. There he made every effort to learn Arabic which allowed him to manage his own excavation sites and travel around Egypt and the Sudan on survey. This was not something out of the ordinary, as archaeologists travelling in the Near East since the early 1800s had expected to learn the local language (Robinson, 1856, pp. ix, 1, 16, 43, 143). Once in Turkey he found that he would have problems eliciting the assistance of local authorities and raising a workforce without speaking any Turkish. He wrote to Pears in 1908 requesting official letters of authority for the *wali* of Adana and Mersina (UoL, GM, letter Garstang-Pears, 1908) as they had proven unwelcoming, knowing that the local bureaucracy would only yield to central government. Most significantly he requested the services of Aise Yusuf, his Arabic-Turkish translator from the previous year. Thus Garstang ensured he had a Turkish translator who fully understood the unspoken customs and nuances of Turkish culture he was bound to overlook as a foreigner. Garstang did not specify why he decided upon excavating Sakçagözü instead of other sites; however it is located in a region where Arabic is commonly spoken (Bosworth, 1992, p. 270). It was his knowledge of Arabic that had ensured his success with the local workmen in Egypt and this was something he might have considered in Turkey. He was still able to employ a local British influence to his advantage as British Christian missionaries

assisted with the recruitment of a workforce consisting mainly of Kurds, Armenians, and Circassians (Garstang, 1913a, p. 64). Exactly why he chose not to learn Ottoman Turkish is unknown so one can only speculate that this was because Ottoman Turkish was only the official government language and had not been imposed upon the various ethnicities which made up the region's population. Many villages spoke more than one language as they adapted to their fluctuating populations but Ottoman Turkish was unlikely to be one of them (Saydam, 2006). Only officials and highly educated persons spoke Arabic, while Ottoman Turkish and Persian was their second language. Garstang might not have felt he would gain much in communication by learning Turkish when his workmen only understood Kurdish, Armenian, Adyghe (West Circassian), Hebrew and Greek dialects. In southern Anatolia knowledge of Arabic with a Turkish translator would have been more than sufficient to deal with the few authorities present on site.

His concern with detailed knowledge of language and local culture is apparent in his diaries (Petrie Museum archive, UCL). When the excavations at Mersin opened, Garstang was employing twenty to thirty men, and these notes presumably helped him decide which workman could be allocated to which jobs, each according to his abilities for re-employment the following seasons. Significantly he noted down who spoke Arabic in order to facilitate communication on site:

> *Ahmed (Yaramaş)*
>
> *Slow to understand, but a first class wall tracer and tidy-minded knife man.*
>
> *Called "Kuyuçi" because he is so good at finding and tracing pits. ['kuyu' means well in Turkish]*
>
> *Ali*
>
> *Second best wall-tracer and small-pick-man. Appears sulky, but it is really earnestness.*
>
> *Ahmed*
>
> *A little crazy, but a powerful fast worker and good wall-tracer.*

Has a tendency to go to [Sic.] *fast through over confidence.*

Wahid Ahmed (Arab)

Very good at delicate work and a good wall-tracer. Needs continual encouragement and has a standing international quarrel with Mustapha and Fikret.

Yusuf

Good pickman. Keen and rather talkative. Bad tempered but pally [Sic.] with the foreman.

Fikret

Completely useless as a pickman but his self-assurance disarms criticism. He is useful as an ornament and scribe to Mustapha. He cannot stick at a job for three minutes on end.

Musa

Good intelligent sherd boy.

Could be taught almost anything.

Wahid Abdullah (Ahmed's brother)

Given a small pick for a short time, but irritating and bad at it.

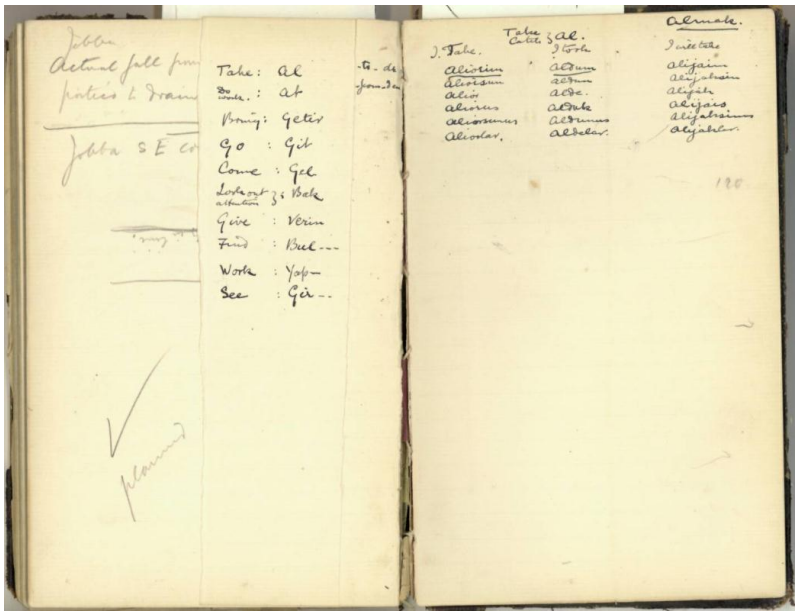
Arslan

(sick at end of season)

Powerful man with large pick.

Beginning to learn wall tracing but very little brain.

Extract and scans from John Garstang's 1938-9 Mersin notebooks (UCL, Special Collections archive, Garstang, UCLCA/IA/A/17):



Jobba
Actual full fm
potters L Drain

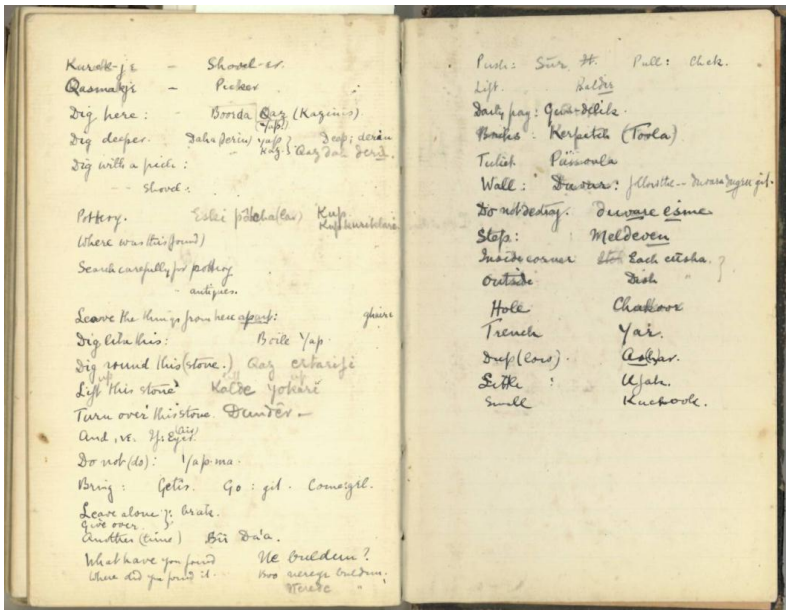
Jobta S E co

Take : Al
Do over : At
Bring : Getis
Go : Git
Come : Gel
Look out attention : Beke
Give : Verin
Find : Bul---
Work : Yap--
See : Gir--

Take Cattle : Al.
Alcrmake.

I. Take.	I Took	I meetake
Aleirim	Alum	Alijaim
Aleirsun	Alrun	Alijabaim
Alcir	Alde.	Alijabir
Aleirrun	Alrnk	Alijaiz
Aleirrunnus	Alrunnus	Alijabairnus
Aleirlar.	Alrlar.	Alijabler.

120

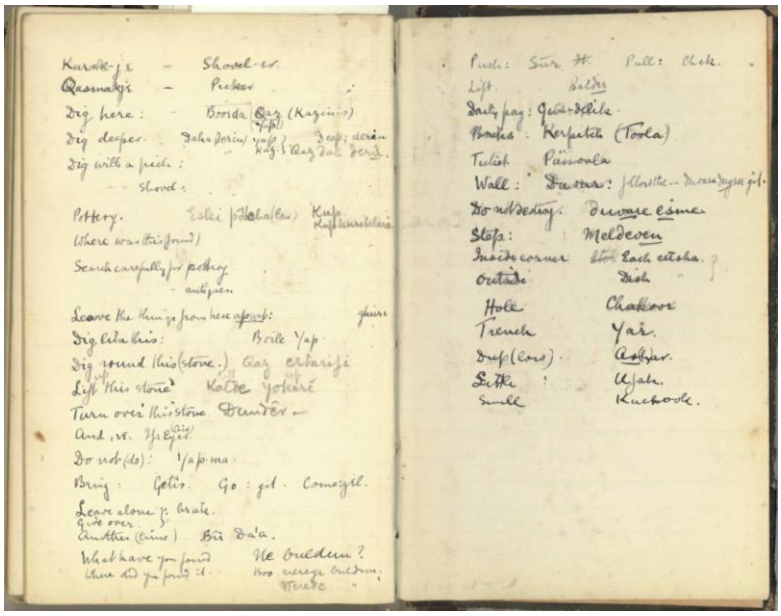


Kurak-ji - Shovel-er.
Qasmakji - Picker
Dig here : Borida (Kazmio)
Dig deeper. Jaha derin yap? Kaz? Daha derin kaz? Daha derin.
Dig with a pick :
- - shovel :

Pottery. Eski potchalar Kuro Kyl kurchlari
(Where was this found)
Search carefully for pottery
- antiques.

Leave the things from here alone : ghoire
Dig Like this : Boile Yap
Dig round (his stone.) Gaz etrafine
Lift this stone Kalde Yokare
Turn over this stone Deuter -
And, vs. Ve, Eyet (aig)
Do not (do) : Yapma
Bring : Getis. Go : git. Come gel.
Leave alone ye brake.
Give over
Another (time) Bir Dha.
What have you found Ne Bulduen?
(How did you find it) Bro nereye bulduu,
Nerede

Push : Sür Pull : Chek.
Lift. Kaldir
Daily pay : Gündelik
Brakes : Kerpetch (Tokla)
Toilet Pissonla
Wall : Duvar : Jollarthe - duvar yapmak gir.
Do not destroy : Duvare esme
Stop : Meldeven
Inside corner Each etcha.
Outside Dish
Hole Chukoor
Trench Yar.
Drop (Coin) Asagar.
Little : Ufak.
small Kuchook.



2.2: Images x 3: Scans of Garstang's Turkish dictionary in Latin alphabet despite knowing Arabic (ref. UCL, Special Collections archive, Garstang, UCLCA/IA/A/17).

2.3: Garstang's photo of his team sitting as equals with locals, receiving information, 1908 (Ref. UoL, GM, HIT-R-002)

Awareness of dress protocol is also indicative of a strong understanding of its significance across cultures conveying status and respect. Veronica Seton-Williams, who worked with Garstang in Liverpool, Palestine and Turkey, wrote quite extensively about life with the Garstangs in the field. She gives an insight into the person Garstang was in his mature years. She described him as the typical absent-minded professor who regularly misplaced personal belongings. On one occasion, having misplacing his formal suit trousers in which he was to meet Mustapha Kemâl

Atatürk in Ankara, he claimed illness, cancelled the meeting and left on the Orient Express (Seton-Williams, 1988, p. 54) rather than attend and risk causing offence. Thus Garstang was able to utilise his knowledge of official and unofficial local customs in conjunction with the importance he placed upon the ability to communicate in a local language to his best advantage in order to gain access to the research fields he required. This knowledge in conjunction with his networking skills and his awareness of cultural and social traditions described above led to Garstang establishing various archaeological institutes within the Near East which introduced a process of knowledge re-distribution and restitution in the region.

2.6: A Palestinian interlude - Garstang as modern archaeologist from an Edwardian background

This section frames the position Garstang held within various networks when acting as British government official in Palestine between 1919 until 1926 and how this was his most significant stage of intercultural and international modernised archaeology which set the stage for the final period of his career and legacies.

Garstang held the position of Government Official in Palestine from July 1920 as director of the Mandatory Department of Antiquities in Palestine (Gibson, 1999, p. 118). He was the founding director of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (PAM) and also of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (est. 1921) (BSAJ - now the Kenyon Institute) (Cobbing & Tubb, 2005, pp. 80-7). In this instance there is a convergence of networks, his family network with his Egypt-Hittite committee network. From a family perspective Lady Talbot de Malahide, Oliver Gurney's grandmother, who served as president of the Dublin branch of the British Red Cross Society, the Irish Joint Red Cross and St John Executive Committees (Anderson, 2000) at the same time as Lord Walter Rothschild was chairman of the British Red Cross Council based in London. However no related Garstang or Gurney correspondence has been located in the Rothschild archives though, as mentioned in the previous chapter Garstang and his wife benefited from this family acquaintance through the Gurneys to contribute to the war effort with the British

Red Cross in Britain and France as part of Lord Walter Rothschild's ambulance fund project at Carcassonne (*The Times,*1914e).

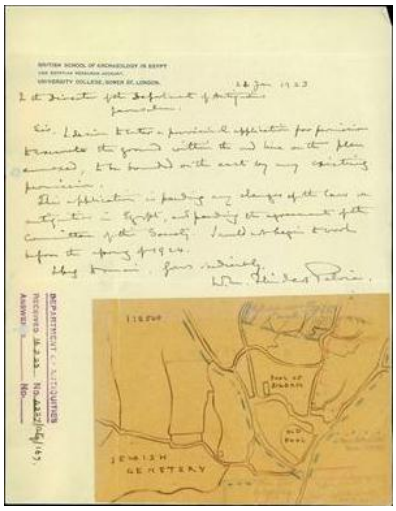
Garstang's position of Honorary Advisor to the Sudan Antiquities Department with Kitchener and Wingate, together with his experience working with Ottoman authority, should have been enough qualification for this prominent position. Furthermore, the same Walter Rothschild, a Liberal Unionist Member of Parliament, was closely involved in the formulation of the draft declaration for a Jewish homeland in Palestine with Arthur Balfour, which initiated the process culminating in the Balfour Declaration as part of the Sévres peace treaty struck with the Ottoman Empire in 1920. This committed the British Government to support the establishment of a national home for Jews in Palestine (Aaronsohn, 2000, p. 264; Schneer, 2011, p. 342). Garstang's Egypt-Turkey connection came to the fore at this stage when he was invited by an Organizing Committee (est. 1918) concerned with the establishment of a British school of archaeology in Palestine to ensure a presence in the region for British archaeologists, as well as support the PEF. Robert Mond, from his Egypt, Sakçagözü, and Meroë excavation committees, was Honorary Treasurer of this Organized Committee then, in 1922, Hogarth was also appointed Chairman (Gibson, 1999, p. 115, 118).

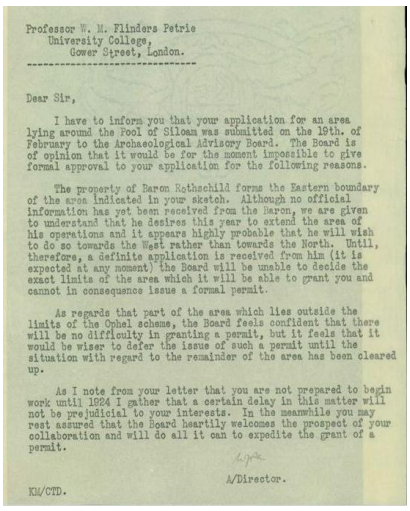
It is at this point also that Garstang commenced his work with the PEF as part of a network of knowledge exchange and co-operation with the American School of Oriental Research (ASOR) (est. 1900), and the L'Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française (EBAF) (est. 1890) Palestine (Gibson, 1999, p. 115). In 1919 Garstang appears to have planned for a combined British and American school plan co-habiting the 'Lord Bute House' at Jaffa Gate with the Americans taking responsibility for the library and the British keeping records (Gibson, 1999, p. 117). In the end the British School was established close to the EBAF and the ASOR (Garstang, 1921, quoting Gibson, 1999, p. 118), and it was open to and maintained jointly by both American and British society members. The PEF and the Palestine Oriental Society (POS) also utilised the premises (Gibson, 1999, p. 118). The POS was established by Garstang in 1920, with the patronage of Sir Edmund Allenby, in collaboration with

Albright and Sir Ronald Storrs as conceived by Albert T. Clay from ASOR. The POS was to take part in this new epoch of archaeology in Palestine 'under a new and enlightened administration' listing 29 members of different nationalities hailing from various archaeological and government bodies (*JPOS*, 1921, pp. ii, 1-2). Garstang's imperative at the British School was the training of local students in preservation and excavation of Palestinian archaeology (Garstang, 1921; quoting Gibson, 1999, p. 118). In 1922 Garstang was the instigator of the establishment of standard terminology for ceramics and Levantine archaeology with Albright and Pere Vincent from the EBAF to co-ordinate archaeological knowledge exchange (Chapman, 1989, p. 92). The scenarios above show that in his most powerful and official guise, Garstang went about re-attributing archaeological heritage, knowledge, and skills to the local community, in light of archaeology as a modern profession in collaboration, not competition, with other nations in knowledge exchange, in contrast with the imperialist mode of antiquity collection of the earlier era.

While Garstang held these positions in Palestine he turned down Flinders Petrie's application to dig in Jerusalem on the Hill of Ophel (1922) due to an interest shown by the Rothschild family in developing the same land (Israel Antiquities Authority digital archive online, 4472/ATQ/169/14, letter Garstang–Flinders Petrie 1923) (image 2.4). It appears that the professional and social position he now held meant that he now deferred to politically influential authorities that superseded his old Egypt allegiances. In 1950, though critical of the treatment meted out to the Arabs by the British government (Schneer, 2011), he wrote approvingly of the Rothschild colonies as "excellent examples of harmonious relations between Jews and Arabs" (Garstang, 1950, p. 220) as well as of the Rockefeller Foundation that financed the Palestine Archaeological Museum (PAM), reopened as the Rockefeller Museum in 1938 under the instigation of James Henry Breasted (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem website. Available online: http://www.english.imjnet.org.il/ [Accessed 12 March 2014]). The core collection of the PAM had been first commissioned by Hamdi Bey, and curated by the American Frederick Jones Bliss from the PEF, when Palestine was still an Ottoman territory, to form the Ottoman Jerusalem Government

Museum in 1899 (Hallote, 2006, pp. 143-7; St. Laurent and Taşkömür, 2013, p. 18). Through the establishment of the PAM Garstang, along with the British Governor of Jerusalem Sir Ronald Storrs, ensured that Palestinian archaeology was re-attributed from Ottoman ownership back to the its native nation instead of being allocated to the superseding colonialist presence and being sent to the British Museum. Here he was putting into better practice Flinders Petrie's beliefs and resistance to displacing uncovered artefacts (e.g. Tell el-Hesy artefacts to the Ottoman Museum, PEF archives).





Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie
University College,
Gower Street, London.

Dear Sir,

I have to inform you that your application for an area lying around the Pool of Siloam was submitted on the 19th. of February to the Archaeological Advisory Board. The Board is of opinion that it would be for the moment impossible to give formal approval to your application for the following reasons.

The property of Baron Rothschild forms the Eastern boundary of the area indicated in your sketch. Although no official information has yet been received from the Baron, we are given to understand that he desires this year to extend the area of his operations and it appears highly probable that he will wish to do so towards the West rather than towards the North. Until, therefore, a definite application is received from him (it is expected at any moment) the Board will be unable to decide the exact limits of the area which it will be able to grant you and cannot in consequence issue a formal permit.

As regards that part of the area which lies outside the limits of the Ophel scheme, the Board feels confident that there will be no difficulty in granting a permit, but it feels that it would be wiser to defer the issue of such a permit until the situation with regard to the remainder of the area has been cleared up.

As I note from your letter that you are not prepared to begin work until 1924 I gather that a certain delay in this matter will not be prejudicial to your interests. In the meanwhile you may rest assured that the Board heartily welcomes the prospect of your collaboration and will do all it can to expedite the grant of a permit.

A/Director.

KM/CTD.

Images 2.4: L: Petrie requesting permission to excavate from Garstng (Ref.: Israel Antiquities Authority Digital Archive 4287/ATQ/169/14, Online: http://iaa-archives.org.il/) R: Garstang's reply rejecting it (Ref.: Israel Antiquities Authority digital archives (Ref.: 4472/ATQ/169/14 Online: http://iaa-archives.org.il/)

As an active British Government official in Jerusalem Garstang took every opportunity to expand the British academic and research presence in Palestine. He organised an international congress in 1926 convened by the High Commissioners for Palestine and Syria (Garstang, 1926). Ninety-four delegates attended representing fourteen countries which included America, France and Britain. Attending British academics represented Oxford, Cambridge, Liverpool, Leeds, London, Sheffield, Manchester, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen universities. There were also delegates from the British Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Royal Institution, the Royal Asiatic Society and other similar organizations closely associated with the British colonial knowledge collection network as

discussed in the previous chapter (Garstang, 1926). The two research groups represented the old colonialist knowledge archiving societies and the new progressive universities working together in support of archaeological conservation and retribution.

The various official delegates from the attending societies above were taken to the sites of Baalbek, Palmyra, Samaria, Jerash, Petra, Beirut and Jerusalem as well as the sites of Tabgha, Megiddo and Beisan in Palestine suggesting that Garstang noted these sites for future archaeological exploration (Garstang, 1926, p. 442). He used this conference excursion as a blueprint for planned cultural tours of the region (Garstang, 1950, p. 220). A British Mandate was proposed in 1924 for a "tourism tax" to be levied on heritage which was to be kept in its native cultural context but possessed by Britain to financially meet requirements of conservation and research (Kudish-Vashdi and Baruch, 2013). Garstang was taking this opportunity to further archaeological awareness of this region in the hope of gaining financial support for the BIAJ which worked towards international archaeological research under very difficult economic circumstances with virtually no government support. Garstang further extended his Palestinian network's reach with the assistance of his wife. They held informal open house evenings every Friday in Jerusalem welcoming friends, visitors and governing members pertaining to all sectors of Palestinian society, as the first steps towards archaeological knowledge reattribution to its native culture (Garstang, 1950).

It was during one of these parties that Garstang met King Abdullah of Jordan who shared his interest in astronomy. They struck up a strong friendship which led to visits to the then inaccessible and relatively unexplored sites of Jerash and Petra (Garstang, 1950, p. 221). This led to the first excavations at Jerash (Gerasa) in 1928 as part of a joint effort with the BSAJ and Yale University (Fisher and McCown, 1930, p. 1). Similarly the Garstangs held a weekly open house during the 1940s when they were residing in Ankara and planning for the BIAA there (Garstang, 1950). They

collected Turkish scholars and officials within their home which engendered support for Garstang's efforts towards the establishment of the first British institute within the Kemâlist Turkish capital (*The Times*, 1949). Although Garstang's career in Palestine falls outside the perimeters of the archaeological material evidence utilised in this thesis, this Palestinian interlude demonstrates how he continued to use and develop his networks applying their influence freely on aspects of his personal, political and archaeological life which led directly to his success in Turkey.

2.7: Mersin – a last excavation site in collaboration with America

The following section proposes that Garstang's final excavations in Turkey were linked with his Oxford-Egypt network which led to his choice of Neo-Hittite archaeological survey at the site of Mersin (Yümük Tepe) in 1936. His interest in excavating here might have been corroborated by advances in the philological decipherment of the Boğazköy 'Great Kings' archive (Garstang, 1947). He identified the site of Mersin during a survey funded by Francis Neilson, a British Member of Parliament, philanthropist and stage director in New York and London, originally from a working class family from Birkenhead. The Neilsons endowed various institutions including the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Liverpool Cathedral, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Chicago Chapter of the Archaeological Institute of America at the University of Chicago, of which Neilson was President during 1935. In collaboration with the IoA at Liverpool Neilson organised and endowed the Mersin excavations with Garstang in search of sites mentioned in the Bible. Neilson met Garstang through the first Dean of Liverpool, who had benefited from Neilson's philanthropy (Neilson, 1953, pp. 122, 123).

Mersin was to be Garstang's last excavation. This yielded 23 occupation levels, dating from the Neolithic to the Iron Age, and including a 'Hittite fortress' (Garstang, 1953). Mersin had already been identified as a good location for Hittite excavation by Prof. W.M. Ramsay and D.G. Hogarth in 1891. Hogarth had expressed an interest in Hittite archaeology and travelled to Maraş in search of inscriptions (Murray, 1902; Hogarth, 1910). This research path was disrupted by illness and

subsequent career choices (Gill, 2010). Hogarth, an alumnus of Magdalen College, could be said to have formed part of Garstang's Oxford-Egypt 'old boys'' network. They collaborated on the planning of Garstang's 1907 Sakçagözü survey trip, he providing Garstang with facilities at Oxford, and Garstang refers frequently to Hogarth's suggestions, publications and photographs throughout his 1910 book (46 instances to be exact) (Garstang, 1910 p. xiv). Both Ramsay (1890, pp. 27, 34) and Hogarth (1893, p. 654; 1910, p. 17) wrote extensively of their travels for the Royal Geographical Society and the British Academy in Asia Minor during the late 19th century. Indeed the tone and style of these accounts is mirrored by Garstang's publication, which took in many of the sites Hogarth had previously written about.

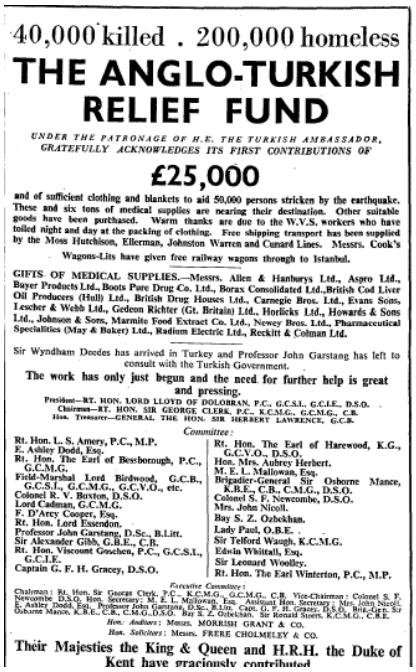
Image 2.5: Opening ceremony at Mersin (1937) with Ali Riza Yalgin (left) and Garstang (centre) (UCL, SCA, Garstang, UCLCA/IA/A/17, Mersin photograph, 1937)

By this stage in his career Garstang had the opportunity to fully display his cultural understanding of the importance of 'gift giving' and the custom of honouring one's hosts in Turkey. In 1937 he was granted a permit to excavate to be accompanied by the local inspector of antiquities, Ali Riza Yalgin. Garstang arranged a grand opening ceremony for this new excavation, at which the local governor lifted the first sod with a silver engraved trowel that Garstang had presented to him for the occasion (Garstang, 1953). It appears that Garstang was now well versed in the advantages

attained by being able to correctly perceive host cultures and behave in a way which was advantageous to both parties as is demonstrated by his later successful collaborations following WWII.

2.7: Garstang's later career in Turkey post-WWII

This section explores themes of knowledge decolonisation through the establishment of the British Institute of (Archaeology in) Ankara (BIAA). This is the culmination of Garstang's career progression from private collecting archaeologist in the early 1900s to becoming a British diplomat consulting with the Turkish Government in 1940. Whilst working on the excavations at Mersin in 1939 he heard that a devastating earthquake had hit Erzincan in the east of Turkey (*The Times*, 1939). He assembled a British society to provide relief aid to the victims of the disaster, enlisting the philanthropic support of his previous Liverpool excavation funding committee members and his Istanbul network to form the Erzincan Anglo-Turkish Relief Fund (*The Times*, 1939). This was presided over by Lord Lloyd (Millman, 1998) and chaired by Sir George Clerk, then British Ambassador in Turkey, but Garstang was the chief consultant with the Turkish Government officials in Istanbul. Other members of the committee included Max Mallowan and Leonard Woolley, who also acted as secretary. Cunard Lines (i.e. Brocklebank Ltd.), which was part owned by Martyn Kennard (another early member of Garstang's excavation committees for Beni Hassan, Meroë and Sakçagözü), provided shipping free of charge, whilst Thomas Cook, with whom Garstang had travelled throughout his career, provided free railway transport to Istanbul (*The Times*, 1939).



40,000 killed . 200,000 homeless

THE ANGLO-TURKISH RELIEF FUND

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF H.E. THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR, GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGES ITS FIRST CONTRIBUTIONS OF

£25,000

and of sufficient clothing and blankets to aid 50,000 persons stricken by the earthquake. These and six tons of medical supplies are nearing their destination. Other suitable goods have been purchased. Warm thanks are due to the W.V.S. workers who have toiled night and day at the packing of clothing. Free shipping transport has been supplied by the Moss Hutchison, Ellerman, Johnston Warren and Cunard Lines. Messrs. Cook's Wagons-Lits have given free railway wagons through to Istanbul.

GIFTS OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES.—Messrs. Allen & Hanburys Ltd., Aspro Ltd., Bayer Products Ltd., Boots Pure Drug Co. Ltd., Borax Consolidated Ltd., British Cod Liver Oil Producers (Hull) Ltd., British Drug Houses Ltd., Carnegie Bros. Ltd., Evans Sons, Lescher & Webb Ltd., Gedeon Richter (Gt. Britain) Ltd., Horlicks Ltd., Howards & Sons Ltd., Johnson & Sons, Marmite Food Extract Co. Ltd., Newey Bros. Ltd., Pharmaceutical Specialities (May & Baker) Ltd., Radium Electric Ltd., Reckitt & Colman Ltd.

Sir Wyndham Deedes has arrived in Turkey and Professor John Garstang has left to consult with the Turkish Government.

The work has only just begun and the need for further help is great and pressing.

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Their Majesties the King & Queen and H.R.H. the Duke of Kent have graciously contributed

Image 2.6: Garstang's Anglo-Turkish Relief fund of 1940 (Ref.: *The Times,* 1940)

Despite the obvious humanitarian aid the Erzincan relief fund provided there were ulterior motives for Garstang's prompt actions. The call for a British Institute of Archaeology in Turkey had gone out prior to 1939 however WWII stalled all plans. Garstang explaining how France and Germany had had established their Archaeology Institutes in Istanbul under Ottoman auspices, however this was not an option available to Britain as the British government had no interest in financially supporting such an endeavour. The opportunity came about when the "enlightened" (Garstang, et al., 1949) Government of the Turkish Republic actively promoted the establishment of a BIA in Ankara, the new capital city, to work in collaboration with the Turkish Department of Antiquities and the Turkish Ministry of Education (Garstang, et al., 1949). In 1946 an academic committee was formed in London and Garstang met with the Turkish Foreign Minister, Hasan Saka, promoting collaboration with Turkish archaeologists and for the furthering of archaeological research in Turkey contributing to international scholarship. Saka approved this arrangement and, after he was made Prime Minister in 1947, issuing a Decree (File R, No. 6616, BIAA archives, Turkey) which authorised the establishment of the BIAA. The Institute was temporarily housed within the Ottoman Bank and formally inaugurated by the Minister of Education on the 15th of January 1948. The

ceremony was attended by other Ministers, several ambassadors, the Rector and representatives of the University of Ankara, the Director and other members of the Turkish Department of Antiquities, and various members of the public and press. Congratulations were exchanged by the British Foreign Secretary and the Turkish Foreign Minister via telegram (Garstang, et al., 1949).

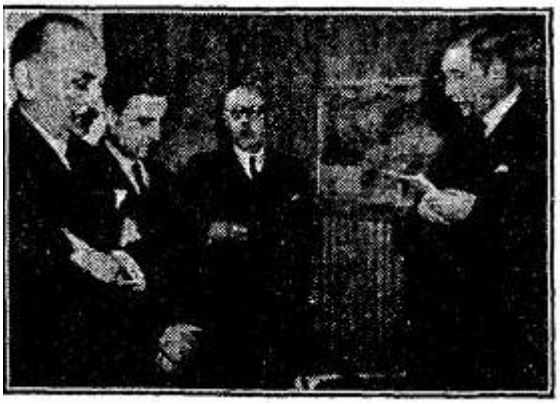


Image 2.7: The BIAA opening ceremony including Sir David Kelly (British ambassador in Turkey, right) and Garstang, middle (*Times, 1948*).

The Turkish Republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs Decree was signed by Prime Minister Saka and all his Cabinet ministers after having considered the minutes of the Ministry of Education (1946-47) and those of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1947). It was agreed under the conditions that the BIAA undertook research in Anatolian archaeology, folklore and anthropology; that it abided fully by Turkish laws and regulations; that it would not expand its reach unless Turkish authority was given and that it would not offer free University events such as lectures and courses (Vekâleti, 1949). Item b stated the intention of facilitation of archaeological study of the Near and Middle East with emphasis on Anatolia, for researchers from the British Commonwealth, and Item c specified the institute's full collaboration with Turkish universities (File R, No. 6616, BIAA archives, Turkey; Eggar, 1949, p. 9).

Article 3d also stated that the Institute would strive to establish appropriate working and living premises anywhere in the world for the use of members of the British Commonwealth researchers (Cowen, 1950), emphasising the post-WWII decolonialist political stance adopted following the London Declaration regarding member equality of the *Commonwealth of Nations* that same year (Mansergh, 1954). Traditionally these Institutes were primarily premises for the facilitation of

knowledge collection specifically for the benefit of Western scholars and their knowledge banks, typical of the institutes of archaeology established in Istanbul prior to WWI.

These new terms under which the BIAA was established demonstrate the 'modernist' intention of intercultural knowledge exchange for mutual benefit. The Australian Institute of Archaeology in Melbourne, which was founded in 1946, by the cultural diffusionist Vere Gordon Childe (*The Dawn of European Civilization*, 1924), previously Director of the IoA in London, assisted Garstang in establishing the BIAA through an institute financial loan which shows that Garstang had discarded his old 'imperialist' methods of fund raising (through rich patrons etc.) and instead applied for support by linking archaeology institute branches (Garstang, et al., 1949, p. 9). This is evidence that these new Institutes functioned as official stations in this process of foreign intercultural exchange whereby knowledge could be accessed by all Commonwealth members.

The Times newspaper published the opening of the BIAA on January 16th 1948 when Garstang was 70 years old. The institute was opened by the Turkish minister for education and the article went on to place Garstang's archaeological methods and achievements in contrast with earlier 'amateur' European contributions to imperialist archaeology such as the Napoleonic retrieval of the Rosetta stone. The overall message is that archaeology has been professionalised and archaeological knowledge was progressing, despite the veiled nostalgia for the pre-war Romantic age of 'Oriental' pioneering discovery:

> The spade is mightier than the pen over vast tracts of time through which civilizations rose and fell and shaped things to come. [...] which will not, it is hoped, be absent from the findings of the new British Institute of Turkey.

(*The Times*, 1948a)

It is curious that no comment is made as to its location, Ankara, after all this was a relatively new capital city and all the other European archaeology institutes were situated in Istanbul. The article reports that the Turkish Minister for Education thought the institute 'invaluable to Turkish and British scholars' and received warm commendations from Mr Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, read out by Sir

David Kelly, the British Ambassador to Turkey (*The Times*, 1948b). This note of support for the establishment of such an institute in Ankara from Bevin had political resonance as he actively supported decolonisation in Parliament for the withdrawal of British control in India and much of the Near East whilst supporting the creation of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO est. 1949) (Bullock, 1984). League of Nations Mandate British Control of Palestine ended in 1948, and was immediately followed by the establishment of the State of Israel. The article suggests that the establishment of the Institute was in line with progressive British decolonisation, Turkish support of non-Communist ideals with Europe, and the professionalisation of archaeology as an international collaborative field of research.

Garstang's death occurred while on a cruise visiting Mersin as Guest of Honour. Despite his failing health he insisted on being carried ashore accompanied by Oliver Gurney and his mother Sarah. He managed to give a talk about his excavations there before he collapsed. He died two days later at Beirut, on 12 September 1956 (Hawkins, 2003, p. 232). His funeral was held in the chapel of Jesus College in Oxford (Baker, 1971). Many were present, including representatives of Garstang's college, the Royal Asiatic Society, the BIAA, the UoL, the Society of Antiquaries, and the PEF, from the BSAJ, and Palestinian Archaeological Society amongst many other family members, friends and colleagues (*The Times,* 1956). His funeral gathered together the various professional and family networks he had built throughout his career as a progressive modern archaeologist at the location where it had commenced, Oxford University.

2.8: Conclusion

The above discussion identifies Garstang as a scientific archaeologist whose methods could be seen as being in advance of those of his contemporaries. Admittedly, the initial methods by which Garstang gained the necessary support to facilitate his work was entirely typical of his time and the social opportunities open to him, whilst his early Hittite publications also map perfectly upon the Edwardian

imperial interests of warfare, geography, religion, and empire (e.g.: *The Sun God(dess) of Arenna* (1914), *Notes on Hittite Political Geography* (1923), *The Hittite Empire* (1929). It was only after the end of WWI that Garstang reappeared in the British knowledge network of the Near East possibly through a combination of his work in Sudan and his family and was made Director of the Antiquities Authority of the British Mandate in Palestine where he took the opportunity to establish the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the Palestine Archaeological Museum. This position in society allowed him to hold popular open-house networking session in Jerusalem which, led to the exploration of previously inaccessible archaeological sites in Jordan. This was his first opportunity to make progress towards conservation and restoration of ownership of Palestinian archaeological heritage to Palestine. He repeated this feat of native knowledge reassignment in Turkey, through the BIAA.

Even if Garstang never went so as far as to place Hittite archaeology within the Kemâlist Turkish national history he somewhat returned ownership of this heritage to Turkey by establishing the BIAA within Ankara as the new Turkish capital founded upon the Kemâlist republican ethos and the re-colonisation projections of Anatolian antiquity as part of this process of nationalisation, as will be discussed in full in Chapter Five.

As will be made clear, Garstang had ingratiated himself with the Kemâlist politicised Hittite archaeological interpretations for a homogeneous Turkish heritage when he published his book *The Hittite Empire* in 1929 with extensive research and maps marking the territories of the Hittite empire in line with the Kemâlist arguments put forward at the drawing up of the Lausanne Treaty (1923). Furthermore, Ankara University was officially established in 1943 while the opening of the core Hittite gallery at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara holding Garstang's Sakçagözü stele during the 1940s suggest that Garstang was on good terms with this new regime. Seton-Williams even mentions Garstang meeting with Mustafa Kemâl Ataturk when excavating at Mersin (1988, p. 54).

Despite this there is nothing which suggests that Garstang had a choice as to where the BIAA was to be established, in fact it is probable that it was established at all entirely due to Garstang's good reputation with the Kemâlists and his contributions to their museum's collection, in addition to Ankara being focused upon as the new cultural centre of Turkey. This is not to say that Hittite archaeological knowledge was free from political interpretations, quite the opposite, but that the applied political interpretations were imposed by its cultural and geographical inheritors, the Anatolian Turks.

Chapter Three: Museums as ontological praxis of colonialism and nationalism

Introduction

This chapter explores the social and cultural context within which John Garstang operated as an archaeologist whose methods and objectives were informed and determined by the preceding Romantic Victorian and Edwardian tenets of British identity and knowledge requirements, focusing upon the city of Liverpool. The economic transformations Liverpool went through, in this period spanning the mid-1800s until the 1930s, and the central role the city of Liverpool played within the Empire allowed for the establishment of a particular demographic stratigraphy towards which the city's museum, art gallery and University was tailored. Garstang's 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery was situated within the Liverpool Public Museum between 1931 and 1941 and here follows an examination of various contextual aspects of preceding and concurrent cultural developments which informed the intentionality of the Museum in Britain to fully comprehend the its role leading to the display of Garstang's Neo-Hittite collection in Liverpool (1931-1941).

The main points made below will show how the function of museums changed over time; how provincial museums had a specific and local audience (i.e. Liverpool) and thus functioned differently from national museums; an identification of the audience the Liverpool public museum catered for; and the reinforcement of these tenets through its architecture.

The relatively sudden spread of museums in industrial cities such as Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Preston is evidence of the central role such museums played between the burgeoning middle classes and the use of culture for social and educational reform during the 1870s and 80s (White, 1983, p. 95). The British Museum, as a tool for receiving international artefacts in support of a widening knowledge base, is discussed and compared with the functionality of these new provincial municipal museums.

3.1: The Liverpool Public Museum

The Liverpool Free Public Museum and Library opened in 1860. It was established at the instigation of Liverpool councillor, architect and historian, James Allenson Picton, who also established the Picton Library, to appropriately display the extensive zoological collections of the 13th Earl of Derby as well as contributions received from the Liverpool Royal Institution and the Liverpool Art Academy founded by William Corrie, William Rathbone V and William Roscoe (1814-1892), and the antiquities collection of the antiquary Joseph Mayer (Muir, 1913, p. 53; Millard, 2010, pp. 18-20). The new museum was to consolidate and publicly display the legacy of the most prominent aristocratic and upper middle class Victorian social reformers the town had created (Wintle, 2013, p. 165).

Liverpool's public museum was free to enter and meant to attract visitors from the lower classes who might not otherwise have had the opportunity to travel and see the Empire's riches that had shaped and inspired the city since the beginning of the 19th century. The gallery displays included the ships, commodities and artefacts representing the various ethnicities incorporated into the Empire and which constantly moved through the city and its port, shaping local attitudes about national identity, tastes, and above all, their convictions about what it meant to be an imperial citizen. Artefacts from other cultures and exotic displays which were put on view were really trophies, spoils brought back by the conqueror, which expressed victory, ownership and a right to these nations' property and culture. The practical contradiction of the municipal museum was that despite being conceived to sustain Victorian desires of social improvement through education, in practice they were run by and largely aimed at the variegated middle class social strata (Woodson-Boulton, 2012, p. 20; Woodson-Boulton, 2013). The casual museum viewer, unconsciously or otherwise, internalised these ideas of conquest, ownership and trade, which mirrored their own middle class aspirations, identified with them and thus sustained a closed cycle of Imperial provincial rhetoric. These aspects apparent within the museum are explored in much further detail in the following Chapter Four.

In 1877 the Liverpool Annual Autumn Art Exhibition was transferred from the museum to the purpose-built Walker Art Gallery, following which the Picton Library was inaugurated to house the literary collection separately from the museum in 1879, which had held it since 1860. This specialisation of public institutions of knowledge and art by the Liverpool Corporation seemed to herald the later modernisation and expansion occurring at the other significant institute for knowledge acquisition, that of Liverpool University College.

This was the historical context of Liverpool Public Museum at the time of the opening of the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections gallery – a British imperial tour in miniature highlighting the role of the local contributions of transport, travel and trade. It was designed to impress the visitor with the wealth of the British Empire, juxtaposing, and implicitly inviting comparison between, the great civilisations of the ancient world and the local history of Liverpool, with its significant shipping industry. The themes herein framed the disparity of function, role and overarching narrative between this provincial museum of Empire and the British Museum in the metropole. The Liverpool museum largely pertained to local knowledge and focused upon its city's contributions to the imperial effort; it was aimed at the local population and its transient visitors. It meant to inspire pride in local industry, in the role it played in imperial expansion and related trade, as well as increase localised knowledge concerning heritage sustaining the city's identity as a form of Liverpudlian 'Wonder House' (Kipling, 1901, p. 7).

Whereas the British Museum was a representative repository of epistemological analysis of received knowledge and artefacts through the British Imperial global network (Richards, 1992, p. 106), the Liverpool museum was synecdoche of a homogenised conservative discourse which was propagated by its curators through its galleries. Abroad the British Museum held active political powers to sponsor knowledge-gathering expeditions and seize cultural artefacts (cases including Layard and Sayce's Nineveh with the libel attached to the Iraqi Hormuzd Rassam; Hogarth and Woolley's Carchemish), and it is arguable that this attitude of superiority and acquisition was sustained through the Keepership of the

indomitable Wallis Budge. This presents a good opportunity for the exploration of cultural tenets of archaeology, faith and politics displayed within the 'Oriental' department at the BM during the Victorian and Edwardian periods; an opportunity to be taken up at a future point. The Liverpool Public Museum, despite its various well established global links, could only maintain this native version of a provincial 'Wonder House' (Kipling, 1901, p. 7). The exterior architectural context of the Liverpool 'acropolis' which included he Liverpool Public Museum upheld the epistemologies projected within the role of its architecture and its historicity is discussed below.

3.2: Social perceptions of the architecture at Liverpool's cultural centre, 1853-1931

The Liverpool 'Acropolis' – A pinnacle in Victorian Neo-classical architecture

The Edwardian age brought Charles Reilly, Professor at the School of Architecture to Liverpool. He wrote of an association he was initiated into 'The New Testament', a University group dedicated to the 'Athenian' vision of Prof. John Mackay – Rathbone Professor of History. The City of Liverpool was to become a new Athens through its University, saving the country from materialism through classical architecture, which would inspire beautiful civic planning, and cultural finesse (Reilly, 1938, p. 71; Belchem, 2007; Harrison, 2008, p. 2).

The architecture, the layout, the necessary funds and support were all attributable to the upper classes of the aristocracy and influential merchants. Yet the running of, use of interior spaces such as the museum, its display designs, education and the audience it catered for was resolutely middle class.

Georges Bataille envisaged architectural compositions as great monuments rising up against weak human traits in the name of majesty and authority. They denounced human inadequacy, enforced admiration, order and constraint upon the multitudes (1929, p. 117). Similarly approaching the Liverpool Public Museum in 1931, the visitor would pass through Liverpool's imposing Neo-Classical 'acropolis':

St George's Plateau, flanked on all sides by a Neo-Classical architectural mishmash. This section briefly explores influences of the biographical history behind the architecture at the cultural heart of Liverpool. A combined critique of both architectural style and the inevitable human involvement therein allows for an exploration of the ontological role of 'representation' operated by the museum and 'acropolis' 'represent[ing] Commerce and the Arts bearing tribute to Britannia' (Picton, 1875, p. 182) for the average Victorian and Edwardian visitor in Liverpool (Gadamer, 1975). It features designs by Harvey Lonsdale Elmes and completed by Sir Charles Cockerell (St George's Hall, 1838-1851) (Sharples, 2004, p. 49). Picton wrote favourably of St. George's Hall and its location:

> It is a structure of which the town may well feel proud, notwithstanding some defects […] it will always hold a very high and honourable place amongst the erections of modern times […] The east portico, […] forms a promenade worthy of Greece in her palmiest days.
>
> […] one of the greatest triumphs of the art [*of architecture*] in modern times. (Picton, 1875, pp. 180-2, 186)

Image 3.1: St. George's Hall (left), monuments to Prince Albert, Disraeli and Queen Victoria (front), Walker Art Gallery and Sessions House (left background) Wellington Column (centre background), Alexandra theatre and Great North Western Hotel (right), Liverpool, c. 1890s (Courtesy of Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, DC 20540 USA)

What is immediately apparent is that Liverpool's cultural city centre was from first sight imposingly upper class and imperial. Frank Salmon's interpretation of St. George's Hall is that the entablature has Greek characteristics while the columns and capitals are of Republican and early Imperial Roman derivation, he goes further to interpret the Liverpool museums quarter as inspired by the Roman forum (Salmon, 1995, p. 174). The architecture of Cockerell and Foster Jr. was the precursor to the stylistic features populating St George's Brow cultural centre (Davies, 1999). These were also early archaeologists who sought examples of classical architecture during their 'European Grand Tour' (Salmon, 1996, p. 78). Cockerell and Foster Jr. are responsible for the Oratory (styled upon the Athene Nike temple in Athens) and St James Cemetery (comparable to the Ancient Roman Fortuna Primigeneia sanctuary at Praeneste in Italy), and the Greek Revival façade at St Andrew's Church on Rodney Street (Sharples, 2004, p. 241; Pollard and Pevsner, 2006, p. 361). The austere neo-Classical Revival style in which they are executed is obvious.

Elmes, who was classically trained at the Royal Academy School and influenced by John Soane, was also responsible for the Liverpool Collegiate Institution (1840-43), an early neo-Gothic building, a style which followed on the demise of the neo-Classical architectural fashion as hailed by Charles Barry's 1836 design for the Houses of Parliament in London (Salmon, 2000). Its Upper School became Liverpool College in 1884 (Muir, 1913, p. 72).

The Neo-Classical Walker Art Gallery (1874-7) is by Cornelius Sherlock, as is the Picton Reading Room (1875-9) (now Liverpool Central Library) which was modelled on the British Museum Reading Room by Sydney Smirke (1857) both featuring a Corinthian colonnade on a semi-circular façade (image 3.2) (Sharples, 2004, p. 62). The journal *The Builder* was less than complimentary regarding both Smirke's BM Reading room (1859, Vol. 17, p. 507) and Sherlock's Picton Reading Room (1859, Vol. 17, p. 620). John Weightman designed the original Liverpool Free Public Museum and Library (1857-60) featuring a Graeco-Roman six Corinthian colonnade

with portico, somewhat similar to St George's Hall in style. The original elevated portico (image 3.3), was replaced with the present dramatic steps in 1902 (Pollard and Pevsner, 2006, p. 298).

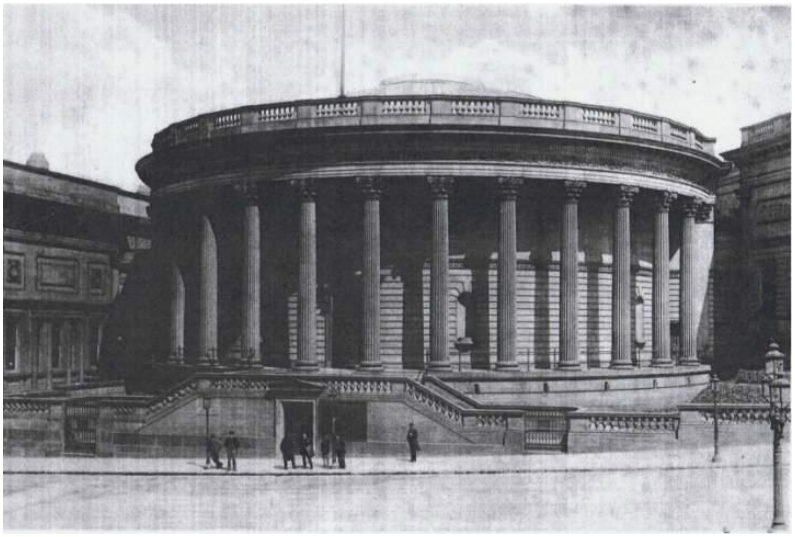


Image 3.2: Picton Reading Rooms, 1875 (ref.: www.victorianweb.org/art/architecture/liverpool/1d.jpg)

The County Sessions House at the other end of William Brown Street (1882-4) is by Francis and George Holme. They were local architects from a prominent family of builders, railway contractors and architects who were responsible for many of the most prominent buildings in Liverpool and its wider conurbation. They trained with Sir Charles Barry, designer of the Houses of Parliament. The County Sessions House is somewhat contentious here, as even though it is Neo-Classical the style derives from Renaissance Venice rather than directly from Antiquity. Despite this anomaly the building fits in well with the 'Acropolis' spirit of Victorian elevated Classical aspirations with St. John's Gardens as its centre commemorating a variety of local philanthropists (Pollard and Pevsner, 2006, p. 300). The Wellington Column (1861-3), with its Roman Doric column by Andrew Lawson, was considered an architectural embarrassment by Picton, in 1875 (p. 186), nevertheless it is remarkably similar to William Burn's Melville Monument in Edinburgh, modelled on Trajan's Column (113 AD) in Rome. The Steble Fountain (1879) featured Neptune (Roman), Amphitrite (Greek), Acis and Galatea (Roman) by Paul Liénard, further emphasised the mixed Neo-Classical themes present in the Liverpool 'acropolis' (Sharples, 2004, p. 65; Pollard and Pevsner, 2006, p. 300).

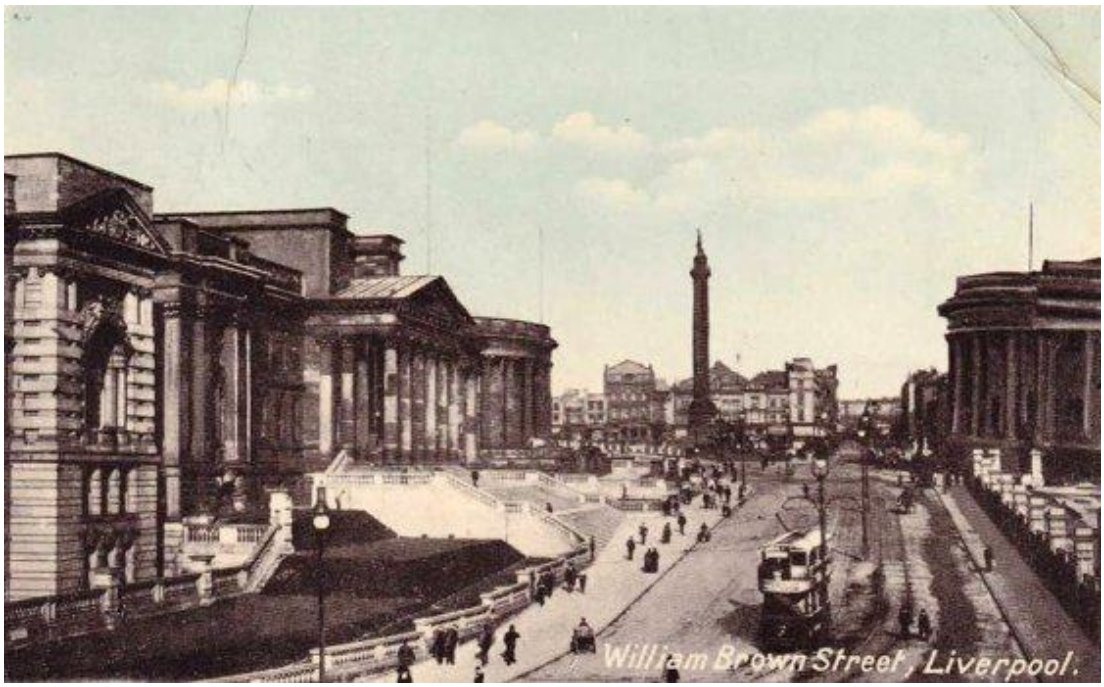


Image 3.3: Clockwise: Liverpool Technical School and Museum extension (left), Public Museum, Picton Library, (Walker Art Gallery and Sessions House unseen over the ridge to the left), Wellington Monument (centre), Alexandra Theatre (background), St. George's Hall (right), public gardens (railings, right, foreground), William Brown Street, Liverpool , c. 1917 (Courtesy of Liverpool City Group).

The cumulative architectural arrangement of the Liverpool 'acropolis' provides a stepped backdrop to St George's Hall. This type of staggered arrangement is at its earliest observed at Pergamon (4th Century BC), yet it was not common knowledge at the time that this style of terraced monumental buildings was derived from the Ancient Near East. Sites such as the late Hittite citadel of Sam'al (Zincirli), Turkey (9th-8th Century BC) featured similarly arranged upper and lower 'palaces' (Kostof, 2009, p. 52). It is apparent that planners were inspired by the Hellenic Model of Pergamon (3.4) especially since Sam'al was not recognised until 1888 (Luschan, 1893). The original plans for the Liverpool 'acropolis' also featured a *temenos* wall, with gates and railings, as the physical embodiment of intentional middle class social exclusion and distaste for the very members of society the services these buildings performed were officially intended for. The late Victorian duality of 'middle class stewardship' of the working classes and the actual colonisation of institutes of knowledge and culture could not have been better represented than by this planned wall, although it was never completed (Sharples, 2004, pp. 49-50).

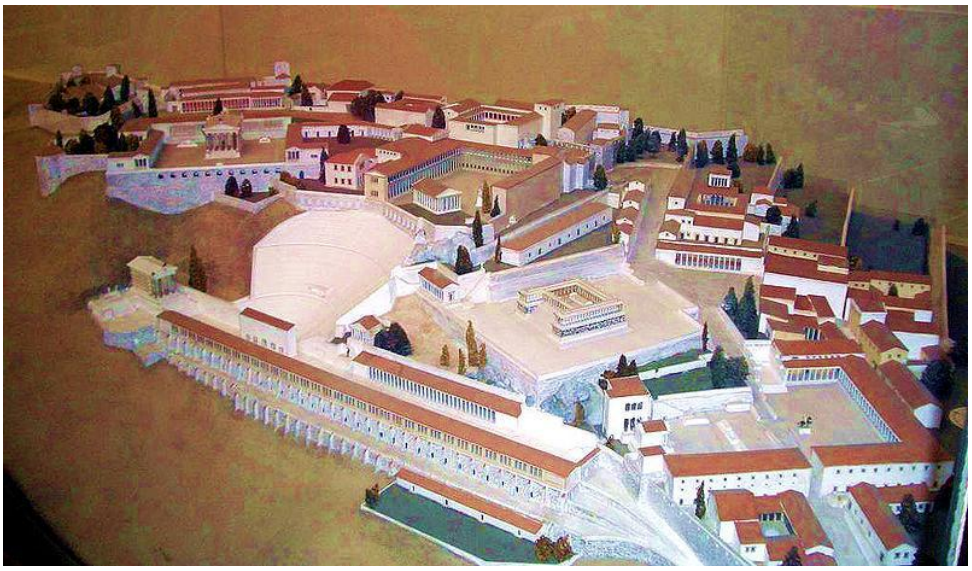


Image 3.4: Model of the Pergamon acropolis, Pergamon Museum Berlin (Courtesy of Wladyslaw Sojka, 2004)

The 1860s Liverpool architecture boom was inspired by, as well as invoked, the Romantic idealisation of Empire as epitome of cultured, democratic civilisation based upon socio-political theories as those of Thomas Arnold (*Comparative Method* and *Historismus*, 1845). This was a showcase of what the middle class mercantile and banking families of Liverpool wanted to be associated with whilst shouldering the debatable responsibility of working class reformation through education. Architects, trained in the Classics designed municipal city buildings to the requirements of their own social class who wished to establish the city of Liverpool as a new seat of culture and knowledge, and distance it from the prosaic merchant town built upon slave labour that it was. William G. Herdman further supported this reality through his drawing of the city commencing from 1818 (*Herdman's Liverpool*).

> Arts and sciences are inimical to the spot [Liverpool]; absorbed in the nautical vortex, the only pursuit of the inhabitants is commerce. […] Liverpool is the only town in England of any pre-eminence that has not one single erection or endowment for the advancement of science, the cultivation of the arts, or promotion of useful knowledge.

(Annon.; quoting Picton, 1875: p. 253-4)

Architecture, Classical archaeology and the high arts were aspects of the same British upper and upper middle-class collective equipment with which they reified

the social divide between themselves and the lower strata. The idolisation and identification with 5th century BC Hellenic arts was embodied and emphatically emphasised through public architecture. This architectural celebration of upper class authority illuminates the two essential contradictions behind Victorian public institutions and society: elevation through education and simultaneous suppression due to an imperial, industrial, capitalist economy whose success relied entirely upon maintaining a large dependant working class.

Buildings such as the Liverpool Public Museum (1860), the Liverpool Public Library (1860), the Walker Art Gallery (1877) and St George's Hall (1854) can be seen, not just as functional public works, but as temples to the Muses of Classical Hellenic culture and monuments to their heirs – namely, the British Empire (Jenkins, 1992, p. 15), of which Liverpool was the chief port and proud second city.

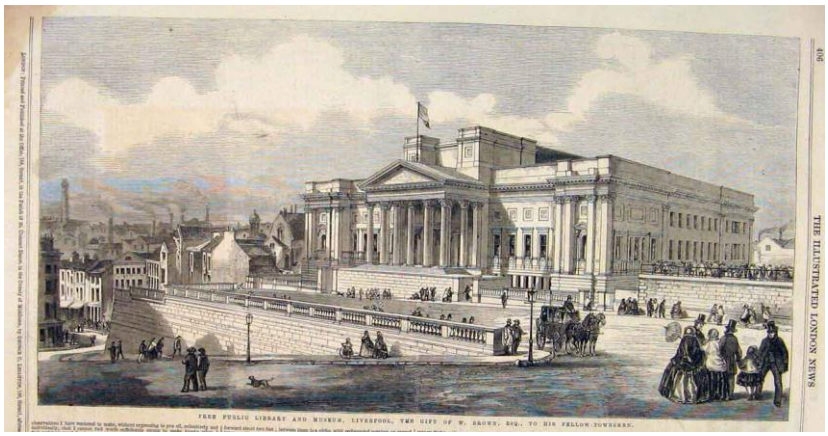


Image 3.5 – "Free Public Library and Museum, Liverpool, the Gift of W. Brown, Esq., to his Fellow Townsmen", *(The Illustrated London News*, 17th October, 1860, pg. 406)

The image above (3.5) depicts William Brown Street and the original building holding the Liverpool Public Museum in 1860 before the Liverpool Central Technical Schools and Museum Extension building was added on the left in 1901 with the Walker Art Gallery opening in 1877 and the Picton Reading rooms in 1879 (*The Illustrated London News*, 17th October, 1860, pg. 406).

As part of the social modernisation and democratisation of knowledge occurring at the turn of the century, a development of which Garstang made up a significant

part at the University of Liverpool, the Liverpool 'acropolis' similarly opened the 1901 Central Technical Institute and Museum Extension building which features a typical Edwardian Baroque design with Mannerist convex façade with Ionic engaged columns by Edward William Mountford (Sharples, 2004, p. 62). He also designed the Old Bailey (1900-7) in London which features similarities. This building is decorated with allegorical figures inside and out by Frederick W. Pomeroy, an Arts and Crafts sculptor (Pollard and Pevsner, 2006, p. 298). This is a marked departure from the rest of the architecture in the Public Museum's context. The technical institute taught astronomy, nautical instruction and engineering for nominal fees which emphasised the Liverpool cultural centre's modern role in education open to all (*Liverpool Mercury*, 1900).

3.3: Public art as social metamorphosis for the middle classes

The following section gives the social context and a short portrayal of the intentionality of the founder and committee behind the establishment of the Walker Art Gallery. Parliament passed the Museums Act of 1845, followed by the Public Libraries and Museums Acts of 1850 and then 1855 using arguments that provincial museums would improve artisans' taste, provide refreshment and amusement, give fine examples to artists, and "soften the character" (Hansard, 1845/50, p. 385) of the local population (Woodson-Boulton, 2008, pp. 119-20). Museum and gallery legislation had emerged from the same Parliamentary inquiries into the standard of British design, which ultimately led to the Great Exhibition (1851) during which British design was roundly panned by experts (see Appendix Five).

In 1852 an act was passed to allow the establishment of a public library, museum and art gallery in Liverpool (Liverpool, 2013). The intention was to counteract the detrimental effects of industrial capitalism on the moral and physical being upon those living in industrial cities in particular. The resulting institutions formed a new kind of domesticated public space, bringing together ideas about the middle class home as a sanctuary and about beauty as a means of "improving" the character—

by which reformers broadly meant educating workers, moralizing them, and generally bringing them into line with middle class values and aspirations (Woodson-Boulton, 2013).

Image 3.6 – First Walker Art Gallery Committee, 1877 (Courtesy NML, SC, image archives)

Earlier attempts by the Liverpool Corporation to open a public art gallery had been repeatedly thwarted. Sir William Brown's museum provided a suitable gallery for the Joseph Mayer Collection, however the museum's running costs had fallen to the city which meant there were even less funds for the establishment of a separate public art gallery. Furthermore the plans for the building of the gallery became a heresthetic tool between the deeply divided Conservative and Liberal local political factions (Moore, 2004, p. 71; MacLeod, 2012, pp. 108-09).

During these controversial political times B. H. Grindley, member of the art gallery committee, argued that art was a necessity for all classes of the population and that most need cultivation, not mere education (Grindley, 1875, p. 5). Meanwhile Philip Henry Rathbone stated that Classical Greek art had the ability to inspire the common middle and lower class simply by viewing it. This was supposed to refine the public taste and thus 'purify' the public consciousness for generations to come. Yet at the same time the Liverpool Arts Club, to which Rathbone and his ilk belonged, excluded and disdained the entire local artistic community which had

already been suppressed through the lack of gallery facilities by parsimonious local councillors (Sharpe, C.W., 1909).

What is interesting is that during this same speech of 1875 Rathbone stated that it was Phidias, the 5th century BC Classical Athenian sculptor and his attributed masterpiece the Parthenon, who "delivered Greece from the Turks", demonstrating a desirability of prevalence of the Hellenic Classical culture over the perceived Oriental 'barbaric' (Rathbone, 1875, pp. 8-45). He went further by comparing Liverpool's failings to support the art gallery to "Carthage, Antioch and Tyre"- as previous significant civilizations which had failed to maintain and cultivate their culture rigorously, as Athens had, and thus sank into oblivion (Moore, 2004, p. 76). This speech does not only tell of Rathbone's understanding of the significance of the promotion of the arts, (choice of 'cultured citizen' or 'savage') but also of the concurrent cultural beliefs of Western cultural (modelled on a perceived 5th century Hellenic one) as superior to those from the East.

> It is for us, with our vast population, our enormous wealth (as a town), but without either politics or philosophy that the world will care to preserve, to decide whether we will take advantage of our almost unequalled opportunities for the cultivation of Art, or whether we shall be content to rot away, as Carthage, Antioch and Tyre have rotted away, leaving not a trace to show here a population of more than half a million souls once lived, loved, felt and thought. Surely the home of Roscoe is worthy of a better fate?

(Rathbone, 1875, p. 40)

Cornelius Sherlock designed a Neo-Classical building with over a thousand linear feet of hanging space on the upper floors with sculpture galleries below. The sculptures outside are by Warrington Wood. Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh laid the foundation stone while the 15th Earl of Derby ceremonially opened the gallery (Sharpe, C.W., 1909). Its construction was funded by Andrew Barclay Walker, a publican magnate.

The Gallery opening caused controversy in Liverpool because it was seen to be an attempt by Walker to buy himself a political place in the upper echelons of society,

and to elevate the image of public houses and drinking; while others accused him of flagrantly building a memorial to himself while he was still alive. This point was reiterated by Lord Derby during his Gallery opening speech with no reference made to public education *(Isle of Man Times*, 1877). Effectively the gallery of art in Liverpool became the private project of Walker as a mechanism for his personal social elevation (Moore, 2004; MacLeod, 2012, p. 110).

Image 3.7: Sir Andrew Barclay Walker, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (Courtesy of William Fallows, 2005)

In fact, Walker was elected Mayor the year after he announced his plans for the £20,000 gallery even though he had no previous involvement in municipal matters. He variously bequeathed large amounts of money to public beneficiary institutions and other philanthropic causes; however, as in this case, it is apparent that there was plenty of room for personal advancement through Victorian munificence (Moore, 2004, p. 68) built upon public house profits. This apparent moral duplicity did not go unnoticed at the time when Ronald McDougall commissioned 3000 copies of 23 sketches entitled 'The Pilgrim's Progress' depicting Walker's journey from Scotland up the social and economic ladder in Liverpool alleging bribery and political abuse. This was circulated round the Town Hall, Magistracy and the Earl of Derby (Liverpool Records Office, H.F708.5 DOC; *Liverpool Mercury*, 1877) (MacLeod, 2012, p. 114).

In contrast with Sir William Brown, who founded the Public Museum, Walker depended upon the Gallery to elevate his status, whilst Brown had already established himself as a leading international reformer, politician, merchant, banker

and philanthropist by 1860 thus neatly fitting into the 'middle class stewardship' for civic improvement (Millard, 2010, p. 14). A Parliamentary Liverpool Improvement Act in 1855 was passed specifically to ensure that the council could provide the land for Brown to build the free public museum and library which was commenced with public approval amidst Victorian pageantry (Hawthorne, 1857; Millard, 2010, p.16). Speeches of the day also considered Brown's contribution to Liverpool as improving the ties between England and America, while Brown spoke of the benefits of education and access to libraries *(Dundee Courier*, 1857). By contrast the Art Gallery was financed and built privately by Walker who was seen to be a profiteering opportunist publican. Despite Rathbone's rousing speech the 'high arts' and the gallery in Liverpool could not escape the questionable elitist intentionality associated with it through Walker.

3.4: Hellenic Classicism for British cultural and social demographic delineation

As a consequence of the élite status associated with the study of Classics (Latin, Greek, philosophy, theology, philology, etc.) by European society, Hellenism was promulgated in Britain as the Imperial paradigm against which all other cultures failed to measure up – a didactic adopted directly from Greek literature itself (e.g. Plato, *Epinomis*, 987d) and has survived into the late 20th century (Boardman, 1978, p. 20; Gombrich, 1982, p. 27). The terms 'Hellenic' and 'Classical' were introduced into English discourse by ruling classes as a synecdoche for Greek culture which allowed for the ownership of the object and the narrative it represented to be removed and altered from its origins and thus shift its ownership to those who created the surrounding rhetoric (Bahrani, 1998, p. 4). The terms 'class' and 'classics' have been used interchangeably to denote élite social status since the earlier Roman empire (B.C.), however it was resurrected in Britain during the early 18th century to distinguish rigid social strata (Hall, 2011, p. 387). Furthermore access to a 'Classical' education based upon Latin and Greek literature was conterminous with those who held the means by which such knowledge, culture and ideology were disseminated through economic means (Hall, 2011, p. 390) (see Appendix Six). A full account of the development and effects of Classical

scholarship in Europe is given by Rudolf Pfeiffer in his *History of Classical Scholarship from the beginnings to the end of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968).

3.5: Classical Hellenism as cultural ideal of British Empire

This paradigm of the *Pax Britannica* combined with the School of Hellas can be seen to be encapsulated in the Report of the Select Committee of 1816 regarding the Elgin Marbles:

> But if it be true, as we learn from history and experience, that free governments afford a soil most suitable to the production of native talent, to the maturing of the powers of the human mind, and to the growth of every species of excellence, by opening to merit the prospect of reward and distinction, no country can be better adapted than our own to afford an honourable asylum to these monuments of the school of Phidias, and of the administration of Pericles; [...]

(House of Commons, 1816, p. 15)

This discourse was not something reserved solely for art or archaeology. The ontological telos was also somewhat embodied in the concurrent thesis of British ethnicity. In *Comparative Politics* (1873) E.A. Freeman combined the linguistic and cultural insights of the Comparative Method and the Liberal Anglican philosophy of cyclical history as given by Thomas Arnold to demonstrate that the civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome, and of modern Europe, constituted two historical and hereditary successions in a unified lineage towards the achievement of modern and Christian democracy (Morrisroe, 2013, p. 41). Arnold's 'Comparative Method' maintained that Western civilisation is cyclical and represented a complete cycle in the progression of nations from 'childhood' (a top-down society with a controlling aristocracy and subjugated commoners), to 'manhood' (a multi-striated society with political control shared as the previously subjugated commoners increased in economic power and education). He cited Homeric Greece, ancient Gaul, and Europe in the Middle Ages as historical examples of Western nations in their 'childhood', while the period of Thucydides in Greece, the period of Roman Commonwealth and England since 1688 represented national 'manhood' (Arnold, 1845, p. 89-111).

This chapter explores the development of this Western cultural phenomenon and its significance in the period leading up to the opening of the 'Aegean and Hittite Collection Gallery' in 1930s Liverpool. This Hellenic-inspired form of self-identification was inspired by the early European Romantic notions of social edification which ultimately sought to impress tenets of colonial beliefs and identity deeper into the '*Dasein*' of society (Heidegger, 1962). The Liverpool Public Museum and the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery was a resulting product of these ideals.

3.6: Collecting and displaying as a symptom of colonialism in Europe

The concept of a museum as a cultural centre at the heart of the city embodying these idealised concepts of civilisation was not new, this was Strabo's concept from c. 793-4 BC (*Geography*, 17.1.8). During the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC the museum, or *Mouseion* (sacred precinct of the Muses), was a sacred space which both held and displayed a library of knowledge which, in Strabo's Classical model, was a metonym of contiguity between the institution of the Museum and the royal precinct revealing direct associations of power, wealth and prestige. The primary motivating factor for this cultural development was display of prestige by the Ptolemies when they established the Library of Alexandria (Hellenic/Egyptian c. 323 – 246 BC) and later the Library of Pergamon established by the Attalidai (Asia c. 197 - 158 BC). The museum was a secondary development to the library as a material continuation of this concept of 'complete knowledge'. This reveals the direct model of Classical synecdochical connection between scholarship, museum, and library with the political power and prestige of its founders (Nagy, 1998, intro.; Nagy, 2001).

The intention to archive information of all types for 'complete knowledge' achieved its pinnacle in Europe during the early 19th century as 18th century colonialist trading needed territorial access and stability. This led to a new dimension of knowledge collection and archiving through national institutions such as the British Museum, universities and many Royal Associations as active information collection

agencies (Richards, 1993, pp. 4,15). Private collections were a direct symptom of a competitive and wealthy European colonial force which sought individual self-affirmation of its right to lay claim to foreign territories (Bahrani, et al., 2011). Many of these collections formed the basis for the later public art galleries, museums, and libraries.

The British Museum was first established in 1753, mostly containing natural history collections (Pearce, 2013, p. 125) curated by Sir Charles Wilkins and Sir William Jones during the late 1700s (Pearce, 2013, p. 334). It was purpose-built as a 'Classical Temple to the Muses' by William Wilkins and Robert Smirke when collections such as that of Sir Hans Sloane were donated (Jenkins, 1992, p. 15; Sweet, 2004; Anderson, 2012, p. 48; Pearce, 2013, p. 235). It was not until the 19th century that the British Museum embarked upon an imperial socio-political agenda of didactic public education (Anderson, 2012, p. 48). Prior to this, visitors had a tough time gaining access into the building by a process of written application and investigations into their credentials (Saint Fond, 1799, pp. 85-90). Successful visitors were not encouraged to peruse the galleries; they were rushed out with all queries dismissed (Simond, 1815, pp. 83-4; Anderson, 2012, p. 54). Museums and galleries were not originally intended for public perusal of any kind (Sweet, 2004, p.72). The institution was intended as a collection of knowledge heterotopia (Foucault, 1986) filed for British imperial knowledge ownership (Richards, 1992, p. 106).

Image 3.8 – British Museum c.1830 *(Ref.: http://www.grosvenorprints.com/stock.php?engraver=Turner%2C+T.andWADbSearch1=Submit)*

3.7: The British Museum as metropolitan vehicle of Empire

The British Museum during the 19th century essentially had two distinct consecutive roles. Firstly, it was conceived as the virtual focal point a heterogeneous body of knowledge pouring in from both within the metropole, as the British imperial capital city, and the rest of the British Empire (Richards, 1993, p. 11). This covered a bewildering array of aspects of geography, botany, anthropology, archaeology, thermodynamics, ornithology, marine and terrestrial zoology for the intention of compiling a comprehensive catalogue of a united global body of knowledge (Richards, 1993, pp. 3-4). It was quickly realised that this was an impossible fantasy of empire. Yet the appropriation of localised knowledge being deposited back in London from around the world legitimized an *a priori* proposition of an ideological force maintaining that the diverse empire could be a closely controlled homogeneous whole.

This suggests a degree of imperialist self-justification by the ruling classes who needed to rally national support for a political system that was quickly losing popularity within various sectors of society (Anderson, 2012, p. 48). For instance in 1922 Fredrick Lugard (1858-1945) declared the appropriation of large swathes of Africa as a Western right to 'wasted' resources and thus their use was a "trust for civilisation" and for the "benefit of mankind" through the development of indirect rule (1922, pp. i, 615; Parry, 1997, p. 230). Using phrases such as "a mandate from destiny" (Lugard, 1922, p. 58) and "a high and holy mission" (Lugard, 1922, p. 359) in relation to the appropriation and reconfiguration of whole foreign cultures and societies masked the harsh reality from a British public who were severely disconnected from the methods necessary for colonisation and its effects (Richards, 1992, p. 13).

Furthermore, homogenised and biased narratives implicitly made museum audiences believe that all other foreign cultures were essentially defective and required British 'rescue'. Equally the lack of context provided to the visitor by the museum displays and guidebooks about the nations and cultures those artefacts originated from, as will be seen from the 1931 guidebook and museum plans of the

Liverpool Public Museum and the Aegean and Hittite Collections gallery (Chapter Four). This meant that the museum was actively preserving the imperial view of humanity outside the 'motherland' as being primitive, fossilized and immutable in its position as the uncivilized, barbaric 'other' (Preziosi, 2012, pp. 82-91). What denoted 'primitive' society in comparison with Western 'civilized' one was espoused in detail by eminent anthropologists such as Edward B. Tylor (1871, *Primitive Culture,* 2 Vols.) discussing evolution of society in contrast with 'barbaric nations of West Africa' and other such references (Tylor, 1871, pp. 64, 85, 123, 151, 165). He defined them as lacking "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1871, p. 1) which thereby presented the rest of the world as lacking in all of the stated features of civility. Beliefs reflected in the displays at the Liverpool Public Museum even during the 20th century, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter.

3.8: The 20th century social context

Following the massacre of the First World War the upper class could sense a growing social unrest, questioning their power and hold across the globe, unionism being one symptom (Cronin,1992, pp. 89-92). This is apparent in contemporary modern literature by such authors as Herbert G. Wells (1909), E.M. Forster (1910), Ford Maddox Ford (1924-28) , Virginia Woolf (1925) and George Bernard Shaw (1933). The way in which the Liverpool Public Museum was laid out during the early 20th century was a direct result of the next phase in the propagation of state ideology, that turned this rhetoric upon its own nation with the same ontic telos that the powerful were to raise the nation out of its own ignorance and surround them with their didactic through organons of free knowledge such as museums, galleries, botanical gardens, libraries, universities, schools and public lectures (Woodson-Boulton, 2008, p. 125).

This use of museums to showcase an idealised image of the British Empire followed in the tradition established by the Great Exhibition held in London in 1851. This had been organised by Prince Albert and members of the Royal Society for Arts and

Commerce (Digby Wyatt, 1851). The official opening speech introduced 15,000 exhibitors, of which half were British and the "remainder represented forty foreign countries, comprising almost the whole of the civilized nations" (Digby Wyatt, 1851, p. 5) (see Appendix Five). The mercantile and ruling classes who controlled commerce and industrial development unified here to impose their social and cultural aspirations upon the British public and thereby to safeguard the future of British design and industry worldwide.

The interior design of the Great Exhibition was of concern to those involved in Classical aesthetics. In 1850, Edward Falkener, editor of the journal The *Museum of Classical Antiquities,* went to great length to compare and describe what would be aesthetically correct polychromatic decoration for the Hyde Park exhibition building in parallels with Egyptian, Hellenic and Roman and even Near Eastern (Nineveh) and Central American architecture, although the latter two were deemed "rude" (Falkener, 1851, p. 99).

The public didactic role regarding antiquities had been emanating from the British Museum since the late 19th century by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, the Keeper of Assyrian and Egyptian Antiquities, who was a prolific writer, as were many other archaeologists, including Archibald Sayce, who contributed to popular series such as 'By-Paths of Bible Knowledge' published by the Religious Tract Society of London. By the 1910s an official government drive instigated by the upper classes was felt necessary to implement a directly didactic role in support of general education through the London museums. This process commenced in London and later spread throughout Britain. This development of museums from primarily colonial knowledge archiving institution to public educational devices, as part of the movement of middle class stewardship of the lower classes, was lobbied in government in 1912 by Lord Sudeley who wished to see appropriately educated guides installed in all London public museums holding public tours and receiving enquires (Browne, 1915, p. 108). He specified that these were for the benefit of students, schools and the intelligent general public while children were to be banned from such amenities (Hansard, 1913a, cols. 348-62). The result was the edification of the most upwardly mobile and active social class in Britain – the

middle class. A survey in London had concluded that three-fifths of museum and gallery visitors felt dissatisfied and gained no further insight into the collection despite having bought the guidebooks and read the display labels (Hansard, 1913a, cols. 348-62). Notably Sudeley put the greatest stress upon the necessity of having daily guides installed within the Imperial Institute where it was a matter of national importance that the great significance of the colonies and India within the Empire was made apparent to visitors (Hansard, 1913a, cols. 348-62).

This new focus upon museums as active organons of imperial outlook was pushed through by Earl Grey, who was also president of the Royal Colonial Institute and joint founder of the international Imperial Federation League which, amongst other policies, promoted New Imperialism and British ethnic nationalism (Hansard, 1913a, cols. 348-62; Bell, 2009, pp. 14, 33). This League aimed to promote Western civilization to what were deemed culturally third-rate colonial societies and to assimilate such 'backward' cultures into a homogeneous imperial demography, generally for the benefit of imperial trade and economy (Feuer, 1989, pp. 3-4). These are beliefs and ideologies which became apparent in the design and displays of public museums.

By 1914 public guides were to be installed in museums, galleries, and botanical gardens across Britain; however the target audience in the provinces differed from that of the metropole. The availability of guides was to be extended to museums in industrial centres, which were largely populated by classes of people who were poorly educated (Browne, 1915, p. 113). The financial means for their employment was not made available and thus the onus was placed officially upon school teachers who were to train themselves to become 'Official Guides and Popular Interpreters' of these public institutions (Browne, 1915, p. 108). It is clear that there was ultimately an epistemological difference between the London institutions and those in the larger provinces, including Liverpool. Whilst the British Museum maintained the aura of an institution for the learned, provincial museums were actively aimed towards the uneducated, the lower working classes and school children (Strong, 2014, p. 22, Hoberman, 2011, p.12). This demarcation of intent

manifested itself in the complete absence of Classical archaeology in the provincial museums as opposed to the Classical sculpture displayed in the British Museum.

3.9: Classical Hellenic identity in 19th century Liverpool

The British upper classes so completely identified themselves with their idealised notion of Classical 5th century BC Hellas that they elevated its perceived culture and material evidence to 'high art'. This was viewed as the ultimate pinnacle of artistic achievement in the same way as Thomas Arnold perceived its social evolution just as highly. Its derivations in contemporary Neo-classical art and architecture came to represent British and other western European culture and taste for the upper and middle classes (Hill, 2005, p. 38).

The assumption was that an intimacy with Classical sculpture was gained on the obligatory 'Grand Tour' and could only be appreciated through the advantages of a Classical education, largely the reserve of the upper and wealthy demographic (Brodsky-Porges, 1981). With the exception of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford Classical antiquity collections were not freely accessible to the general public (Scott, 2006, p. 632).

Extensive collections of Classical art did exist on Merseyside, such as that held by Henry Blundell at Ince Blundell Hall, just north of Liverpool (Southworth, 1991). These were privately owned and rarely open to the paying public before 1932, when it was open yearly (*The Times*, 1932, 1935b, 1939, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1958, 1959).

The city of Liverpool lacked a culture of artistic development despite William Roscoe's best efforts, unless one includes the short-lived Della Robbia pottery works co-founded by Harold Rathbone, cousin of William Rathbone VI, in Birkenhead (est. 1894-1906). Roscoe, a Liverpudlian historian, slavery abolitionist, botanist, and MP amongst other public and edifying roles, had a vision for Liverpool as a Florence of the North which ended with the failure of the Liverpool Academy. In 1871, with the patronage of the Liverpool Corporation Council, Rathbone VI, son of Roscoe's partner, William Rathbone V, recommenced the Autumn Art Exhibitions

at the William Brown Museum and Library in response to this lack of artistic identity. This was spurred on the success of the Corot-inspired impressionism developing at the Manchester school (Moore, 2004, p. 76). Despite being held at the free public museum tickets had to be purchased for the art exhibition. Rathbone did ensure that the ticket costs were capped, but understandably, even after subsidies by the city corporation, the cost of maintaining a permanent art collection for Liverpool was expensive. The exhibitions were nevertheless a success, which contrasted sharply with the resistance the proposals for an art gallery by Walker met with (Moore, 2004, p. 78). Attendance statistics are recorded in the annual reports. *Thirty-eighth Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Walker art gallery of the City of Liverpool* (Liverpool 1891,pp. 29-30). The resistance was largely put up by the working class demographic who might not have attended a ticketed art gallery but were aware of Walker's political ambitions, his public houses, and the prestige such a gallery would confer upon him. Rather than protesting against the establishment of an art gallery they opposed Walker's growing influence in the city.

This exclusion of the masses continued until 1922, when the Lady Lever Art Gallery was opened to the paying public by William Hesketh Lever in Port Sunlight village. He was made Lord Viscount Leverhulme of the Western Isles for this act of philanthropy (Morris, 1980). In contrast the municipal museums were institutions freely open to the common public, presented in easily comprehensible themes and established by the state. Art and sculpture galleries, a remit of the educated classes, were not presented with an easy narrative which maintained social delineations according to through education and financial means. Even when both types of institutions were opened freely the social differentiation was maintained. Still today, museums are, consciously or otherwise, perceived as less 'tainted' with such cultural elitism than art galleries (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, pp. 46, 64, 66).

In 1821 King George IV donated plaster casts from the Parthenon by John Flaxman to the Royal Academy whilst John Foster presented plaster casts of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae frieze also during the early 1820s (Kurtz, 2000, p.139) for art

students to work from. These were transferred to the Walker art gallery when it opened and remain there. It was not until the Ince Blundell collection was donated and displayed at the Public Museum in 1961. This was when a Classical sculpture and artefact collection became freely accessible in Liverpool (private correspondence Dr. G. Muskett, 2011).

Prior to this Classical Hellenic culture was associated with the educated and affluent classes and the subject matter of the Public Museum was restricted to everything that was not Classical Greek culture which by exclusion, deemed both the museum's collection and its intended audience to be insufficiently socially elevated and educated in the eyes of those who established the museum's collections.

3.10: The socio-economic stratification of the city of Liverpool, 1930s

The Hittite exhibition opened in March 1931, following a full refurbishment of the Liverpool Public Museum galleries. This occurred against a background of global socio-political, economic and cultural upheaval. On the one hand in Britain there was the short lived Empire Marketing Board (1926-33) (Hack, 2013) and the Wembley British Empire Exhibition (1924-5) (Hack, 2013a) explicitly promoting the unity and importance of Empire and the dominion of British trade worldwide. On the other a mainly Conservative National Government had to be formed after the Labour government dissolved following the crisis of 1931, triggered by the Wall Street economic crash. The main function of this coalition government was to rescue the country's budget through drastic cut-backs and increases in taxation which in turn prompted the demise of the Imperial trade network (Bogendor, 1983; Hack, 2013). This Labour government promoted economic change and modernisation, with the first commercial airports opening and mass entertainment venues, such as cinemas, increasing. This created large influx channels of foreign influence, mainly from the United States. Yet the values and cultural tenets the general British population lived by were rooted in the earlier Edwardian ones. For example, nudity within literature and art was heavily censored for the general public through obscenity laws inherited from the Victorian period. These also reinforced the exclusivity of the Classical 'high-arts' in art galleries from freely

accessed public display (Clark, 1956, p. 4) and purportedly preserved it for those with enough education to escape any supposed voyeuristic tendencies suggesting a 'moral panic' on the part of governing society (Hansard, 1935, cols. 1717-1718; Craig, 1937, p. 69; Bartee and Bartee, 1992, p.65). However the contemporaneous literature community, such as Virginia Woolf in 'Thunder at Wembley' (1924) and Robert Graves in 'Good-Bye to All That' (1929) were quick to sense the demise of these conservative imperialistic overtones.

Notwithstanding, due to the necessarily conservative natures of museums imperialistic beliefs were still somewhat extant within these institutions. Museums can be argued to be Foucaultian tools of 'confinement' (Foucault, 1979) reflecting changing epistemological paradigms 'transforming the population into a useful resource for the state' by scholars of museum studies (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992, p. 168), thus reflecting the divisory aspect of imperialist European moralising middle classes during the late 19th and early 20th centuries which had been portrayed by modernist literary authors such as Arthur Schnitzler in 1908 (*Der Weg ins Freie),* Adolf Loos's *Sämtliche Schriften* (1962) and Robert Musil's *Gesammelte Werke* (1976) during the similar decline of the Austrian Habsburg Empire (Bennett, 1995).

The following section provides a brief overview of the social and economic stratigraphy present in Liverpool and its dependant suburbs at the time the Aegean and Hittite Collection gallery opened in the Liverpool Public Museum. This will give us an understanding of the audience that the museum's directors would have been expecting through their doors to receive the intended message therein.

By the 1920s over one million of Liverpool's population resided in the newly integrated suburbs of West Derby, Birkenhead and Wirral and were largely composed of varied working and middle classes. Inner city Liverpool was distinctive at the time due to its ethnic diversity, since this was the entry port for trans-continental economic migration and travel. The largest group of migrants was Irish followed by Welsh and Scottish. These communities made Liverpool distinctly different from its surrounding British hinterland but also created a unique identity that was itself riven with prominent cultural sectarianism and political allegiances.

Essentially the dock and inner city attracted the working class and casual labourers, whereas the skilled workers and secondary level educated were located across the Mersey River at Birkenhead, where the shipbuilding industry and its owners had established themselves (Belchem, 2006, pp. 201-5).

Up until the turn of the 20th century Liverpool depended upon commerce for the larger part of its prosperity. It was considered the 'second metropole' of the empire and positioned itself as the northern outpost of 'gentlemanly capitalism' inviting comparison with the more industrialised Manchester. The earnestness with which the Liverpool Corporation clung to this self-image of gentlemanly commerce precipitated Liverpool's economic decline in the 1920s, when it eschewed the 'second industrial revolution', preventing wider industrial diversification. This resulted in a sharp decline in employment for those in production and industry (Belchem, 2006, p. 206) swelling the numbers of the poorly educated, unemployed working class who joined socialist unions (Belchem, 2006, pp. 208-13). Essentially the social divide in Liverpool was widening.

'White-collar' employment was increasing with the expanding clerical and retail sectors in the city centre (Belchem, 2006, p. 206). By the 1920s the city's demography was divided into a small upper middle class (wealthy business owners, and less affluent professions such as doctors, academics and so on), a fast growing employed and somewhat educated working class (office workers, teachers, clerks and so on), and a large sector of periodically employed lower class (labourers). The Liverpool Public Museum, supposedly for the edification of the lower class, was open to all however it will be proposed that the displays inside were aimed directly at that middle stratum who naturally looked up to the middle classes and aspired to an improved life through education (Allan, 1931; Belchem, 2006, p. 206).

3.11: The University of Liverpool as an Edwardian middle class institution

The development of the University College of Liverpool into a University (1903) and the integration of the Institute of Archaeology into its faculties (1907) is telling of the increasing demand for education placed by the growing sector of the middle

class in this region. As well as exploring the professionalization and place held by archaeological knowledge at the University and its accessibility this is compared to the inherent messages projected by archaeological display at the Public Museum of Liverpool. The epistemological narrative for each knowledge locus is indicative of the expected audience, the inherent beliefs held by their respective directors and the social role of those institutions.

Ramsay Muir, Professor of History at Liverpool (Grayson, 1998), pointed out that for all the riches available in Liverpool, the initial 1882 University College buildings were located in "a disused lunatic asylum in the midst of a slum district" (Muir, 1907, p. 334; Muir, 1907a, p. 24). Despite the large profits made in the city by the end of the 18th century Muir described a University College run on very little funds, even when compared to similar institutions in Manchester. The University College had been established by Conservative Mayors and funds were raised by Sir William Rathbone VI who petitioned wealthy families in Liverpool (Kelly, 1981, p. 48). Muir emphasised the democratic policies of this new facility for knowledge dispersal, in contrast with the Oxbridge universities the majority of their students derived from this new middle class demographic. His 1907 publication *A History of Liverpool* ended on positive note:

> The city which, at the opening of a new age, is simultaneously engaged in erecting a great Cathedral and a great University, is surely no mean city. It is building for itself twin citadels of the ideal, a citadel of faith and a citadel of knowledge; and from the hill [...] their towers [*Liverpool College*] will look across the ship-thronged estuary, monuments of a new and more generous aspiration.

(Muir, 1907, p. 340)

In 1848 the Liverpool Architectural and Archaeology Society was established, headed by the Conservative MP and Mayor of Liverpool Thomas Horsfall in collaboration with the architect James Allanson Picton. The early 19th century drive for social development and enhancement through education came to the fore with the popularisation of Liberal Anglican philosophies adopted and colonised by this

same middle class in the pursuit of political power and economic and social reformation (Wach, 1988, p.376). The middle class realisation of 'stewardship' recognised the effects of economy, politics and the industrialised culture in contrast with Liberal Anglican ideologies of aristocratic and working class conditions which had emerged from the 1930s onwards as a number of parliamentary reforms of deprived working and living conditions (Wach, 1991, p. 425). However in the case of learning, knowledge and literary culture were a means of defining gentlemen as the élite of the town (Kidd and Nicholls, 1999, p. 44). By the latter half of the century this same élite, seeking to modernise Roscoe's ideals, established the University College as the 'spiritual and material heir of the Royal Institution' (quoting Ormerod, 1953, p. 4; Kidd and Nicholls, 1999, p. 44).

The discipline of archaeology was only admitted at universities as a support to the studies of classical arts, with no connection with the study of history. History had been established as a subject matter worthy of university study with equal difficulty during the later 19th century, and it was still deemed secondary to Classical (including Theology) and Mathematical training, which were the core concerns of Oxford and Cambridge in 1868. At this point University Colleges in London and elsewhere in Britain had been established but were largely considered as the training ground prior to admittance at Oxbridge (Levine, 2003, p. 140). It follows then that since Classical training was intended 'to prepare students for the Universities, for Holy Orders, for the Bar and the Civil Service' that those who attended universities were intended to propagate their own social class(Levine, 2003, p.145). As will be demonstrated in the following chapter, the divide between archaeological knowledge at university and within the Public Museum was its truly intended audience. This discussion supports the view that Garstang, who typically hailed from a middle class background, and thus fully integrating into the corresponding academic ethos, was a modernist through his drive to integrate the Institute of Archaeology at Liverpool into the University (1907), by securing enough funding, professorial chairs and establishing the Liverpool Annals of Anthropology and Archaeology journal, maintaining that archaeology and anthropology were worthy of university standard research as well as seeking to increase its student

demographic during the latter phases of his drive towards knowledge democratisation. By contrast an Institute of Archaeology was not officially established at Oxford until 1962 (School of Archaeology, Oxford University website, Accessed 22.04.2014) and not at University of London until 1936.

A case in point of the middle class influence behind the University of Liverpool is the Leverhulme Trust established, in 1925 by the First Viscount Leverhulme, William Hesketh, with the instruction that its resources should be used to support "scholarships for the purposes of research and education" (Mcqueen, 2005, p. 309). This Trust still funds research projects within the department of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology at the University at Liverpool (Liverpool, 2013). This was a product of wealthy middle class philanthropy and social stewardship of the lower classes.

Port Sunlight is physical evidence which demonstrates the ideals of the Lever(hulme) brothers. The idea of moral or social betterment of the working classes or the 'untrained eye' through simple visual perception has been discussed by various art historians (Woodson-Boulton, 2012, p. 84), however architecture played a similar role (MacLeod, 2012, p. 103). An ideal case-study for late-Victorian and Edwardian architecture as social reformer is the model village of Port Sunlight on the Wirral Peninsula (1888-1914). It was purpose to house around 3500 employees at the Lever brothers' soap-making plant, employing around 30 different architects. The selection of architectural styles was intended to be a collection of the idealised rural topography of a pre-industrial England.

Apart from its obvious architectural interest it is apparent that it is the Lady Lever Art Gallery and its frontal promenade that were intended as the heart of the village. The church (United Reformed) (Seed, 1992). Hesketh Village hall, sports club and even the soap factory were all assigned marginal presence. The founding intentions of Lord William Hesketh Lever were influenced by William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement which aimed towards a romantic rural idyll of "close family, [*and*] brotherhood that existed in the good old days of hand labour"(William Hesketh

Lever Development Trust Association, 2007). The ideology behind this Arts and Crafts development is not to be confused with that of the movement developing in the City of Liverpool School of Architecture and Applied Art under the direction of Charles Reilly (Crouch, 2002, pp. 11-25).

The emphasis was upon social elevation through education, cultured entertainment (theatre, sport, music) arts, literature and science. The village boasted a cottage hospital, schools, the Gladstone Theatre, a concert hall, an open air swimming pool, a temperance hotel, bowling greens, and a variety of leisure and cottage gardens all run through welfare schemes. Lever established and co-founded many freemasonry lodges, he achieved the position of Provincial Senior Grand Warden of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Cheshire (Hand, 1918, pp. 440, 566), was elected as Liberal MP for Wirral, then made baronet, a peer as Lord Leverhulme and a viscount (Jolly, 1976, p. 68). Port Sunlight village can therefore be read as a clear mapping of the assent of the British middle class towards aristocratic cultural ideals through the projection of its values upon a working class demography embodied in architecture. It will be demonstrated that this was also the case with the Public Museum of Liverpool as it was built with the middle class's funds and values in mind for the edification and 'social control through education' of the working class (Chase, 1918, p. 11).

3.12: Conclusion

By the turn of the 20th century we see that public museums were exhibiting a new self-consciousness about self-representation. Museums began to view their collections as a whole and to reorganise their galleries on scientific and stylistic socio-evolutionary principles in the light of Liberal modernisation. The increasing professionalization of museum staff as well as the University academic emergence of the disciplines of history, palaeontology, archaeology, architecture, anthropology, geography and geology (Yanni, 1999, p. 160) allowed for modernisation, specialisation and knowledge democratisation for a wider demographic, albeit from the middle class. Foucault perceived modern institutions

such as museums and galleries as tools to induce people to control and improve themselves in a variety of ways, he 'refocused the concern with culture from a critique of bourgeois modernity to one that saw culture not just as a consequence of, but as complicit with, that very project' (Vernon, 2005, p. 276) as did Stephen Dyson in terms of Marxist 'cultural hegemony' in opposition to 'cultural democracy' (1993, p. 97). These spaces can be seen to reinforce ideologies of colonial capitalism and social hierarchy both abroad and nationally (Duncan, 1995, pp. 7-20; Coombes, 1997, p. 119).

Nevertheless, as will be presented in the following chapter focussing upon Garstang's position in Liverpool even though he maintained a professional distance from the Public Museum, he immediately loaned his Hittite plaster casts (LMAC, 1912, p. 4) with a later augmentation of the Hittite displays, as well as holding popular lectures at the museum, which support the understanding that he was a scientific and modernist scholar who sought to broaden the bastions of knowledge appropriation working against working class exclusion at both sites.

Chapter Four: A reading of the 'lost' Hittite Gallery, Liverpool Public Museum, 1931-41

> Admirably impassive, the bands of Empire march on […] Pagodas are dissolving in dust. Ferro-concrete is fallible. Colonies are perishing and dispersing in spray of inconceivable beauty and terror […] Canada opens a frail tent of shelter. […] cracks like the white roots of trees spread themselves across the firmament. The Empire is perishing; the bands are playing; the Exhibition is in ruins (1924).

(Woolf, 2008, p. 171)

Introduction

The following chapter expands on the themes of imperial local metanarrative through a postcolonial paradigm as conveyed through the displays presented within the heterotopic galleries of the Liverpool Public Museum. It explores the implications of this telos in the light of the individuals who contributed the collections and the particular interpretations the museum professionals chose to instill them with. This is achieved through a postcolonial critique of the interior arrangement of the museum, its staff and their visitor demographics. The socio-political discussion in Chapter Three provides the necessary context for this investigation which focuses upon the 'Garstang Hittite Collection' (NML). The original 1931 gallery guidebook, one photograph, the general museum floor plans, a short general 1937 museum pamphlet, and three articles published in 1934, 1937, and 1939 are used as primary evidence in the absence of any detailed photographs, display labels, drawings or display-case inventories.

None of the local newspapers reported the opening (*Liverpool Daily Post and Echo*, 1931, Liverpool Central Library Press Archives). The Liverpool city Museum Committee reports do not provide specific information regarding visitors to the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery either. Contemporaneous information regarding the general refurbishment of the galleries was not located during archival research. In this instance the 1931 guidebook is to be considered both as the primary evidence for the layout of this gallery as well as a complementary artifact intentionally read through a postcolonial lens.

The ‘Hittite Collection’ section is re-imagined as it was displayed until 1941, and narratives of imperialism present in the gallery and its associated literature are investigated. This leads to a postcolonial socio-political analysis of the intentionality behind the didactic epistemology of a local British imperial identity presented through ideals for education. Furthermore, it allows some insight into the divergent positions of the University and Museum as institutions of public education.

Image 4.1: The Liverpool Public Museum with the Technical School extension, 1906
(Courtesy NML, MMAL, SC image archives)

4.1: The Liverpool Public Museum galleries over three floors

> "The museum is the colossal mirror which a man finally contemplates himself in every aspect, finds himself literally admirable, and abandons himself to the ecstasy expressed in all the art reviews."

(Bataille, 2000, p. 300)

The Liverpool museum in its 1930s guise operated as an undisputed authority on the public representation of other cultures outside of London (Tythacott, 2011, p. 166). The overarching middle class necessity of providing a legacy, proclaiming that ‘we tried by our influence and means to leave the community in every respect better than we found it’ (Pender, 1860, p. 15; Woodson-Boulton, 2008, p. 112) and providing a suitably improving social recreation was inherited from the Victorian and Edwardian eras (Teather, 1991p. 409).

Under the directorship of Dr Henry Ogg Forbes (1894-1911) the museum displays were mapped upon the original classifications given by Joseph Mayer. Forbes was primarily an ethnographer and he mapped the museum floors and displays according to theories of human evolution in extremely generic sections of a 'Caucasian' gallery (*white* including Ancient Egypt – later 'Egyptian' and 'British' galleries) on the entrance floor, the 'Mongolian' (*yellow* - later 'Oriental') on the top floor and the 'Melanian' (*black* - later 'African') in the basement (Millard, 2010, p. 42) which gives an idea of the social placement of these three crudely defined ethnographies in the eyes of Edwardian society (Bahrani, 2006). Forbes had only had 4 years' experience working in a museum environment (Millard, 2010, p. 34).

The classifications and labels within the galleries focussed upon Liverpool's contribution to the Empire rather than that of human evolution. However the underlying rhetoric of classifying the world in terms of culture and, therefore ethnicity placing the Caucasian at the top was essentially identical. The same floors held the same collections differently displayed with the ones in the reception galleries of the ground floor acting 'as the standard against which to judge the relative stages of "civilization" in a Western sense (Coombes, 1997, pp. 140-1). The 'less civilized' were placed on the upper floor and the most primitive of all, in the basement (Danto, 1988; Tythacott, 2011, p. 154).

In 1911 Forbes was replaced with Joseph Clubb, who was an ornithologist with considerable more experience as assistant curator at the same museum. He acted as director until 1926 and was Joint Secretary of the British Association from 1913, the same year the museum celebrated its 50th anniversary holding the title of Pioneer of the Municipal Free Lecture movement, holding 24 lectures within the museum itself (LMAC, 1914, p. 4).

Clubb's main focus was the educational aspect of museums especially in relation to schools and he brought in Newberry, Bosanquet and Garstang from the University, to consult upon the Egyptian gallery and the loaned Cretan, Hittite casts and Meroë collections from the Institute of Archaeology followed by the compilation of guidebooks and the first informal public archaeology lectures held in-gallery (LMAC,

1912, pp. 4, 44, 45, 58; Millard, 2010, p. 44). Newberry and Garstang formed the basis of the newly established Advisory Members of Museums Committee (1913) along with Arthur H. Arkle, Robert Gladstone, and Prof. John Linton Myers (LMAC, 1914, p. 2). The appointment of Clubb marks the point where the Liverpool Public Museum became fully involved in role of public education and active collaboration with educational institutes of the city. With the appointment of Dr Douglas A. Allan as director (a geologist), in 1929 the educational aspect was further promoted through the establishment of a schools loans scheme and regular evening lectures at the museum with attendance averaging at 161. Allan also professionalised museum staff by creating specific department keepers (Millard, 2010, p. 48). The role of the Liverpool museum was now equally educational as it was archival. See further Appendix Seven.

To enter the museum from the "acropolis" of Liverpool (Chapter Three), surrounded by imposing Neo-Classical embodiment of the previous century's romanticisation of Imperial valour visitors stepped immediately into a grand Egyptian gallery. Then onwards on a brief tour through the Aegean and Near East back around to British and old Liverpool history, leading on to a vast local shipping gallery, British zoology, then upstairs to the Pacific territories, and downstairs to the African continent. The upper floor galleries were still divided into non-specific themes, testament to the methodology devised by the original owner of these collections, Joseph Mayer (Millard, 2010, p. 13). In 1856 he divided them into 'Foreign Zoology', 'Oriental Ethnology', 'Geology', 'Glass and Pottery' and 'Botany'. The following sections will explore the 1931 museum interior and the significance of these particular gallery divisions. The barely disguised continuation of Mayer's categorisations, and the implied telos therein, persisted despite the appointment of professional staff practising the latest museological directives, and a full redesign of the galleries. This implies that the imperial metanarrative and its analogous didactic was deliberate.

4.2: A postcolonial critique of the demographic context of the Liverpool Public Museum, 1930s

As introduced above, the Liverpool museum visitor was led through its galleries from the ancient world to the modern. *En route*, they were thematically informed about Biblical history, the "ascent of civilisation" in terms of Darwinian ethnic differentiations, or in isolating 'othering' Orientalist discourse (Said, 2003, p. 25), remote aesthetic themes and the pre-eminence of Classical Hellenic culture which, through its very exclusion, reinforced the local social hierarchical preconceptions of Classical Hellenic artistic superiority as discussed in Chapter Three (Taussig, 1993, p. 66).

The guidebooks published by the Liverpool Public Museum during the 1930s portray the museum and its collections as a journey in microcosm around what had been the British Empire from the perspective of its local middle class audience. Here, all the curious cultures that the Empire had 'collected' were put on display for the public's perusal and enjoyment. The actual degree of factual information imparted by the guidebooks was minimal and told the visitor nothing about the pertinent native cultures. Despite using the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery guidebook as evidence for the physical make-up and phenomenological intentionality of this gallery, which is lost to us, the guidebook is in itself a subsidiary artefact attached to the gallery, which needs to be read through a similar contextual viewpoint.

Applying Bhabha's re-interpretation of Barthes *The Pleasure of the Text* (2007, pp. 245-282) it can be understood that the projected idea of an 'Imperial West' to its native demography was maintained through a monological unquestioning perspective (Ledgister, 1998, p. 29-58). It was symbolised through architecture, design and literature, and thus appeared as an immutable and unquestionable conception of Imperial British culture divorced from the reality experienced outside of the public institution. The museum displays functioned as a heterotopia of British colonialism portrayed within meticulous, well-ordered and controlled parameters which sat in contrast with the disordered political reality outside

(Foucault, 1986). This space allowed the middle classes a reassuring portrayal of a continuous capitalistic future, despite all the signs towards the contrary in the real world (Porter, 2006, pp. 181, 183). The museum homed a 'cultural hegemony', as coined by Antonio Gramsci, which transmitted the ruling class ideologies overriding the concerns or interest of the individual (Dyson, 1993, p. 202).

The museum director, Allan, was also an eminent geologist, an early member of the Royal Scottish Geographic Society and a fellow at the British Museum (Natural History) hailing from an upper middle class background (see Appendix Seven). His appointment marked a drive towards the professionalisation of museum staff. The previous director, Dr Henry O. Forbes had also been Honorary Reader in Ethnography at the University, while Prof. Herdman from Natural History, Prof. Bosanquet from Classical Archaeology and Prof. Newberry from the Egyptology departments were co-opted members of the Liverpool City Museums Sub-Committee until 1918. Museum staff had been appointed from the amateur voluntary sector (Hill, 2005, pp. 62-3) prior to Allan's appointment.

In 1937 the Liverpool City Museums Committee (LCMC) published a short account of the arrangements and special features of the collections as an introduction and welcome to the Liverpool City Museum for members of H.M. Services (also available in Dutch, French, Italian and Spanish). This written account followed the layout of each floor and described the galleries in the order that the visitor would pass by them, giving very brief explanatory notes on each (Allan, 1937, p. 31). The labels in all the galleries were of necessity limited, which allowed for little context within which objects could be presented. This context was furthermore selective and thus, essentially manipulative, inviting the viewer to interpret displays in partial and limited ways. This information was complemented with individual gallery guidebooks published by the museum in English and sold on site. The languages the two-page pamphlet was translated into suggests that visitors were mainly local and British, and the translation was a token gesture made towards those travelling through Liverpool on their way to other places.

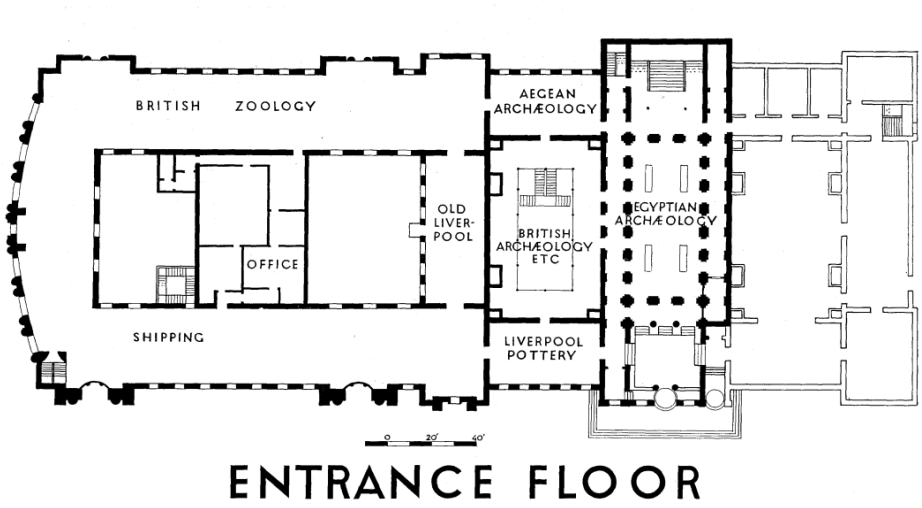


Image 4.2: Entrance floor plan of the Liverpool Public Museum, 1931-1941
(Courtesy NML, MMAL, SC, image archives)

4.3a: The 'Egyptian Archaeology' gallery

The entrance hall, which one supposes would have imparted the most lasting impression, was arrived at by climbing the imposing staircase (McLeod, 2005, p. 15, 16). This held the 'Egyptian Archaeology Gallery' (image 4.2). It was the largest archaeology gallery in the museum consisting of 14 display cases, covering all aspects of life, death and religion in Ancient Egypt (LCMC, 1937, p. 2). This gallery was described as 'unequalled outside London' holding collections contributed by Mayer, Lord Valentia, Joseph Sams, Bram Hertz and Henry Stobart. It had been curated by Newberry and Prof. Thomas E. Peet, who were both subsequent Brunner Professors of Egyptology at the Institute of Archaeology and colleagues of Garstang. They were also responsible for the accompanying guidebook (Allan, 1937, p. 22).

Image 4.3: Egyptian Archaeology Gallery, Liverpool Public Museum, 1931 (Courtesy NML, MMAL, SC, image archives)

The intentionality of the 'Egyptian Gallery' as main reception hall was to produce maximum impact on the arriving public (image 4.3). It had an additional *raison d'être* beyond any of the other galleries. Howard Carter, also a protégé of Flinders Petrie and Newberry, had only discovered Tutankhamun's tomb ten years previously (Carter, 1985, p. x). This had triggered a taste revolution in popular culture, 'Egyptomania', a term coined during the 19th century (Curl, 1994, p. 207). This was the point where archaeology most affected, consciously or unconsciously, culture on all strata of society. It strongly influenced art (Art Deco), design in architecture, furniture, fashion, theatre, travel, literature and cinema on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean (Rebold Benton, 2012, p. 54). To enter into the impressive 'Egyptian Gallery' was to be subject to the glamorous marvels and mysteries not only of British archaeologists operating in the exotic "Orient", but also into the worlds of contemporary design, popular novels, famous playwrights, exotic travels, and blockbuster movies across the Western world. The popularity of Egyptology captured the collective imagination across Europe, Britain and the United States. The Egyptian gallery experience would have had a huge populist pull upon museum

visitors regardless of their genuine interest in archaeology or the museum. The gallery allowed the average visitor to participate fully in this unifying Western cultural phenomenon.

This effect upon demographic masses has been expanded upon by Marx (1974, p. 77) and Freud who dealt with the fetishistic fascination applied to ideas and objects when society endows them with special properties separate from their original context and function (Rycroft, 1972, p. 51). Egyptology was appropriated by popular art and fashion which allowed for general access to this exotic 'otherness' turning it into a commodity to be sold and consumed by anyone, regardless of social background. This effect is still felt today, as Egyptian galleries and their reproductions within museum gift shops are still vastly popular with visitors outperforming any other on visitor numbers and profits (Beard, 1992, p. 514).

4.3b: The 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery

A) The Aegean collection display

The following section gives an overview of the contents of the 'Aegean Collections' gallery as presented within the 1931 guidebook, and the subsequent 1937 pamphlet, within the context of the museum as a microcosm of empire. The literature commenced with a brief chronological overview of the "advance of civilisation", as per the Darwinian socio-evolutionary terminology (c.f.: section 4.2) popular two decades earlier (LCMC 1931) and as applied by Mayer. The gallery held six cases (numbered II, III, IV, V, VI, VII) displaying artefacts from the Aegean, Mycenae, Crete, Cyprus and Ethiopian Meröe (Allan, 1931, p. 9). One case held Bronze Age pottery from Crete, two further cases held pottery and sculpture from Cyprus, a couple showcased votive objects and weapons from the Aegean while another included a metalwork display from Mycenae (Allan, 1931, pp. 18-23).

By 1937 the Cyprus cases had been replaced by further material from Bronze Age Crete with the intention to demonstrate a chronological process of Hellenic artistic

development through the fine frescoes, sculpture, figurines, faience vessels, metalwork, elaborate clothing, seal stones, architectural design and weapons on display. The Mycenaean collection was now referred to as 'Greek' holding replicas of gold artefact copies found in Early Mycenaean tombs (c. 3300 – 2400 BC). The later 1937 pamphlet made it clear that this was only a primitive culture and not the advanced 5th century BC Classical Hellenic one. As discussed in Chapter Three, Classical Hellenic art and archaeology was permanently absent from such institutions as culturally belonging to the upper British classes (Jordanova, 2000, p. 25) through social status and means for education.

B) The Hittite collection display

Image 4.4: The "Aegean and Hittite Gallery", Public Museum Liverpool, 1931 (Courtesy NML, MMAL, SC, image archives)

An contextual discussion of the 'Garstang Hittite Collection' and its display within the museum is given in this chapter as well the full artefact catalogue in Volume Two. Here I give a brief outline of the contents held in the 'Hittite Collection' section which was comprised of two cases (numbered 'VIII' and 'IX') holding the restored pottery from Sakçagözü and a general collection from the cemetery of Deve Hüyük near Carchemish (Moorey, 1980), as well as an extensive collection of Hittite, Neo-Hittite and Assyrian sculpture reproductions (Allan, 1931, pp. 9, 29). In 1937 this gallery section was referred to as 'Asia Minor' and an additional case held

seals and tablets from Babylon and Assyria displaying cuneiform script (LCMC, 1937, p. 2). The gallery showcased the Mesopotamian city of Ur of the Chaldees collection contributed by Sir Leonard Woolley. Also described were pottery types found before and after a great flood, attributing this directly to the 'time of Noah' (c. 3400 BC), as well as weapons, other metalwork, sculpture and votive objects (LCMC, 1937, p. 1). This was the first mention of the most prevalent Western cultural touchstone to be used as a chronological reference point – the Bible:

> Every Bible-reader knew the name of Hittite; but beyond scattered hints of their military prowess, he could learn no more about them. […] its people's reputation for truthfulness, even in St. Paul's day, was small.

(Allan, 1931, p. 11)

> The Old Testament mentions (2 Ki. Vii, 6) the "kings of the Hittites", who even in the days of Elisha (c. 850 B.C.) were clearly a redoubtable foe; and at a much earlier date, Abraham had bought the land for Sarah grave from some Hittites settled in south Palestine.

(Allan, 1931, p. 12)

Here the guidebook also refers to Case I which held Garstang's Meroë and Sudan collection within this gallery. This held various vessels, sculptures, and water-piping from Meröe's Egyptian, Hellenic and Roman periods (Allan, 1931, p. 30). Most noteworthy were the cast copies of a Meröitic stele, a copy of the head of Augustus and three Hellenic bronze column bases, none of which are extant. The stela is from a Hamadab Temple (Sudan) of the Kushite period, it was donated to the British Museum by Garstang in 1914 (BM no.: EA1650/reg. No. 1914, 1013.1). The cast of the head of Augustus (c.20 BC) was originally one of six copies. The original was sold to the British Museum by the Liverpool IoA Sudan Excavation Committee (BM Reg. No.: GR 1911, 0901.1) to share a display with the Ribchester Roman helmet Garstang had uncovered while still a student at Oxford (Garstang, 1950).

By 1937 a further display of objects from Garstang's excavations at Jericho (1929-1936) was added (Allan, 1937, p. 23) to the 'Asia Minor' section. Garstang's Jericho excavation reports do not place particularly emphasis on the Bible for context,

however at the Liverpool museum it can be seen that the Old Testament references and explanations relating to pottery, bronze weapons, fortifications and the settlement remains (c. 2500 BC - 1400 BC) were emphasised over scientific archaeological labelling (LCMC, 1937, p. 1). Garstang's funding and media coverage for the excavation of this site had depended upon the Zionist Lord Melchett, Robert Mond's brother Alfred, and Sir Charles Marston (1927, 1934, 1937) who were keen to discover Biblical sites (*Daily Telegraph*, 1929; Henry, 2008), so arguably Garstang might have felt pressured to satisfy his benefactor and popular newspapers to emphasise the Biblical aspect of his research. However, as is discussed further on, I do not believe Garstang had much input into the interpretations attributed to his collections at the museum in 1931. Therefore, the Bible as a historical point of reference, was attributed solely by Allan who may have deliberately sought the popular perspective for a largely Christian audience (McKim, 1998, p. 559).

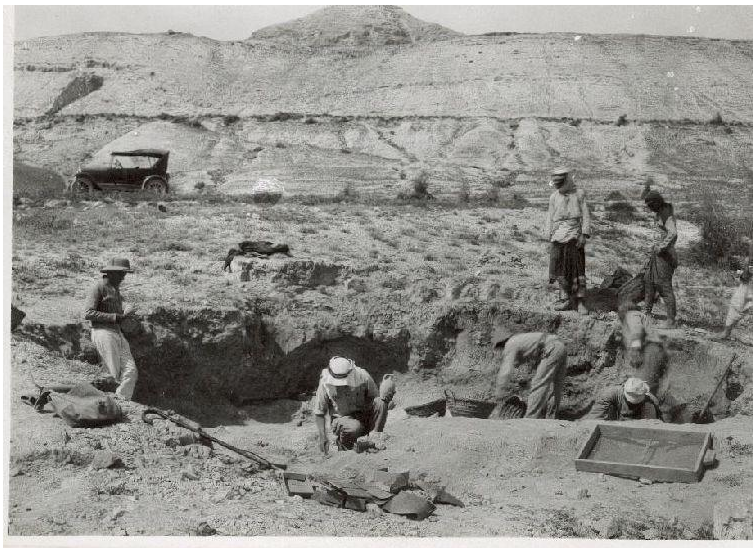


Image 4.5: Garstang excavating in Palestine, 1920s (University of Glasgow, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, ARCH.2/p)

4.3c: The 'British Archaeology' gallery

There are very few details regarding the contents of the British archaeology gallery at the Liverpool Public Museum. The only source pertaining to the 1931 to 1941 period is the 1931 guidebook and the 1937 pamphlet giving a very brief overview of the whole museum. From secondary sources it is known that Elaine Tankard was

Keeper for all archaeology and ceramics collections and that she set up a Children's Corner displaying British and foreign toys within the British Archaeology gallery (Millard, 2010, p. 49). Interestingly Romano-British collections, which were not considered part of the Classics, have been present within the public Liverpool antiquary catalogues since the collections' inception. Despite being endorsed to the general visitor by the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies (est. 1910) the public museum still only displayed artefacts from the Roman provinces, in this case Romano-Britain, and nothing which might have been considered artistically significant (Leslie, 1913, p. 8).

Whereas the London museums and galleries reinforced the original purpose of the Great Exhibition of 1851 which conceived of museums in the first place as locations for the display of foreign arts, design and technology for the advancement of British industrial and manufacturing progress (see Appendix Five), the Liverpool museum focused largely upon shipping, trade and import as a form of the city's self-reflection and reinforcement of its core identity as 'Second City of Empire'.

4.3d: The 'Shipping', 'Liverpool Pottery' and 'Old Liverpool' galleries

The 'Shipping Gallery' went through a chronological development of sea-crafts and shipping in great detail, from dug-out canoes to the very latest in shipping technology, exhibiting 22 models. In 1911 this was known as the 'Liverpool Room' and had been curated by Robert Gladstone (local Liberal politician, and teacher amongst others) and Arthur H. Arkle (Liverpool Mayor and historian) (LMAC, 1912, p. 4). By 1931 it had been redesigned personally by Allan. It was surpassed in size only by the one held at the Science Museum in London and by 1935 a second volume had to be added to the first 'Shipping Gallery' guidebook due to the number of artefacts donated by enthusiastic local ship-owners (Millard, 2010, p. 51). Next door the 'Old Liverpool' gallery showcased local crafts, ceremonies, Napoleonic prisoner crafts and history dating from the relics of 'Stone Age Man' to the 'gay trappings' worn by the High Sheriff (1770). This included various maps, architectural plans, a painting by the Mayor of Liverpool Robert Gladstone and two models of

Liverpool town and city centre, one of 1670 and another of 1933 (Allan, 1937, p. 24). This collection was originally produced by the previous director James J. Simpson in 1926 (Millard, 2010, p. 47). The 'Liverpool Pottery' section held samples dating from 1716 to 1841 (LCMC, 1937) which had originally made part of the Mayer collection.

4.3e: The 'British Zoology' gallery

This gallery had two guidebooks, both within the more expensive price range, dedicated to its displays – 'British Birds' and 'British Mammals' (Millard, 2010 pg.54). Neither was available for consultation. Their contents are not of particular relevance to this thesis however the availability of two guidebooks might explain the very short overview given in the 1937 pamphlet despite its apparent popularity. The 'British Zoology' gallery featured a natural history display of fish, reptiles and amphibians with explanations of the biological differences between them. The 'British Isles Ornithology' exhibition explained the living conditions and plumage of birds while the 'British Mammals' section focussed upon dimensions with a range of sizes, from a pigmy shrew to a hump-back whale skeleton which was found in the Mersey in 1863. The collections held within these galleries made up the original Knowsley natural history collection donated by Lord Derby in 1852 founding the Derby Museum in 1853.

Image 4.6: 'British Zoology' gallery, Liverpool Public Museum1906-1941 (Courtesy NML, MMAL, SC, image archives)

4.3f: A postcolonial interpretation of visitors' reception at the entrance floor

This section examines the visitors' experience solely within the ground floor of the museum and the intentionality therein as devised by museum staff. An investigation of the entrance floor plan (image 4.2) shows that the casual visitor was clearly intended to embark upon a choice of two routes. It suggests two courses they might take. Firstly stepping directly forward into the Egyptian gallery, turn back left through the Aegean and Hittite galleries then onto British archaeology and Liverpool pottery and a quick exit to terminate this circuit is provided by arriving at the main entrance. These galleries in particular were typically grouped and aimed at the middle class educated visitor with the display cases providing the first differentiating factor. One was, perhaps, seeking evidence for the evolution of human civilization (Allan, 1931, p. 7) and aspiring to self-improvement.

By contrast the second route which reflected local factors through the displays would require the visitor to turn left immediately upon entry. This would develop into a circular tour of the Liverpool pottery gallery onto the 'Shipping' and 'British Zoology' galleries, onwards to the 'Old Liverpool' displays and promptly back to the exit. This route might have avoided the more obviously 'educational' galleries and

concentrated solely upon the familiar local interest in Liverpool and its port. Both routes were self-defining through the objects displayed (Hill, 2005, pp. 143-4).

Both circuits were united by one over-arching didactic narrative, that of British achievement abroad. The archaeological sections weredefined in terms of the British archaeologists and travellers who had acquired the collections:

> […] but a large proportion are original material, acquired or actually unearthed by the two excavators whose names the Aegean and Hittite collections respectively bear, Professors Bosanquet and Garstang of the University of Liverpool.

(Allan, 1931, p. 11).

The combined area given to archaeological sections (i.e. Egyptian, Aegean, Hittite and British) was small when compared to the 'Shipping', 'Old Liverpool', 'Liverpool Pottery' and 'British Zoology' sections. This may arguably have been due to shortcoming in their collections but the result was that the Liverpool Public Museum did not, unlike the British Museum, showcase the past through archaeological artefacts in the pursuit of compiling knowledge. This was a museum about Liverpool – a Liverpudlian 'Wonder House' (Kipling, 1901, p. 7). It represented the idealised present to its visitors reinforced by a romanticised and idealistic representation of the past. Viewers were intended to identify and internalise these messages regarding the role of Liverpool within a powerful British empire and thus integrate them into general society. The 'Liverpool Room' displays context was improved with the installation of views, maps and plans illustrating the annals of the city in 1911 (LMAC, 1912, p. 4). Given the scant contextual explanation accompanying the displays it was inevitable that they would be viewed as displaced commodities, trophies and even souvenirs which could only be read against an Imperial British contextual backdrop.

4.3g: The lower floor galleries

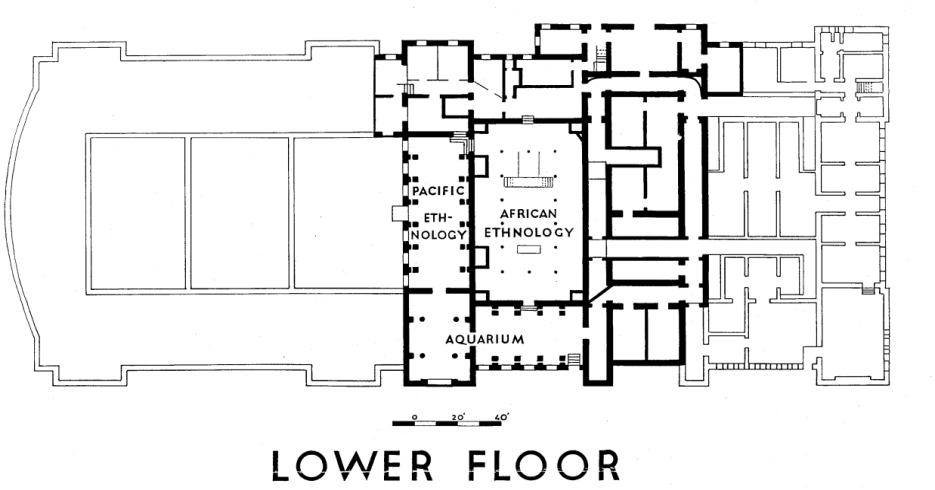


Image 4.7: Lower Floor plan of Liverpool Public Museum, 1930s (Courtesy NML, MMAL, SC, image archives)

The basement held an exhibition of African weapons, musical instruments and implements within the 'African Ethnology' gallery (excluding Egypt). The three African cases were titled "Pagan", "Mohammedan" (Islamic) and "Christian", generating the assumption that this covered all African beliefs (LCNC 1931) as well as limiting the range of enquiry into the continent to the cultural aspect of faiths. During the 1890s this collection was the fastest growing and of superior quality to all in Britain, bar those held by the British Museum. This was due to Arnold Ridyard who regularly brought back artefacts from the continent during his employment with the Elder Dempster Shipping Line, regular subscribers to Garstang's funder, Danson's cross-Atlantic insurance company (Tythacott, 2011, p. 149). Despite the collection's quality it was still located in the lowest floor along with small displays from Australia and the Pacific islands.

4.3h: The upper floor galleries

On the upper floor the first gallery one entered was the 'Glass and Pottery Collection', as originally donated by Mayer. The 1930s placement of this gallery was intended as an appropriate link in the process of artistic and design evolution as witnessed through the spectacular, but primitive, Egyptian artefacts and the comparative arts and crafts showcased through the Oriental Ethnology collection

this gallery led into. Following Foucault's theory of allocated museum space as heterotopic (1986) the location of the 'Glass and Pottery' gallery represented the place given to British (and Western) technological development in the evolution of 'civilized' design and art as understood through a Eurocentric perspective. This seems to be a rare case suggesting that other cultures had superseded British design.

The 1930s 'Oriental Ethnology' gallery held religious icons, costumes, ceramics, jewellery and weapons from China, Malaya, Burma, Japan and India. Here the guidebook reflected on the artistic merits and design of these objects and how ubiquitous these five nations were in British news bulletins of the time. The 'Pacific Ethnology' section in the Lower Floor, along with the 'Oriental Ethnology' section, was further expanded and rearranged in 1935 by Trevor Thomas (Millard, 2010, p. 54).

Thomas considered himself a modernist who opposed the previous evolutionary methodology of displays and emphasised aesthetics and design through his exhibitions (Tythacott, 2011, p. 167). This was a concept familiar with those studying architecture since the 18th century however this had not been applied within provincial museums in relation to museum displays until now (Sweet, 2004, p. 245). The labels and guidebooks displayed little interest in the original sacred functions while the context of origin and appropriation by the museum were never raised (Tythacott, 2011, p. 169). The aesthetic values attributed to the Oriental collections elevated their status to 'art' from 'ethnography' (Tythacott, 2011, p. 168) which further disassociated the object from the culture it was meant to represent. In turn the originating native cultures, where they were mentioned at all, were objectified and dehumanised through this Western method of museological display. On the other hand Liverpool was leading the way in bringing attention to the artistic merits of the 'Orient'.

By contrast the British Museum only re-established a specialised 'Oriental Antiquities and Ethnography Department' in 1933 which was subdivided into the

'Department of Oriental Antiquities' in 1946 (Tythacott, 2011, p. 164). Prior to this the British Museum only had an 'Antiquities' and a 'Prints and Drawings' department from 1808 until 1860 or 1861, at which point 'Antiquities' split into 'Oriental Antiquities', 'Greek and Roman Antiquities', and 'Coins and Medals'. However 'Oriental Antiquities' included not only collections from the Far East, and the Middle East, but also British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography. Ethnography was detached in 1866, while the remainder became the 'Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities' in 1886 (Wilson, 2002, p. 379).

It can be understood that this demonstrates a closer partnership between the Liverpool Public Museum, the specialised departments at the University of Liverpool and mainstream education, while the British Museum was very much an independent institution following its own interests. Yet one has to take into account the difficulties of displaying and managing a much larger number of extensive collections at the British Museum than staff were faced with in Liverpool. The individual departments and galleries in Liverpool were necessary to make the most of what they had. Of course the difference in collection sizes and variety was due to the British Museum's primary function and ability to accumulate as much material knowledge as was politically possible, rather than public education, while the Liverpool Public Museum was established with edification and knowledge distribution in mind from the start depending solely on the contributions of local collectors.

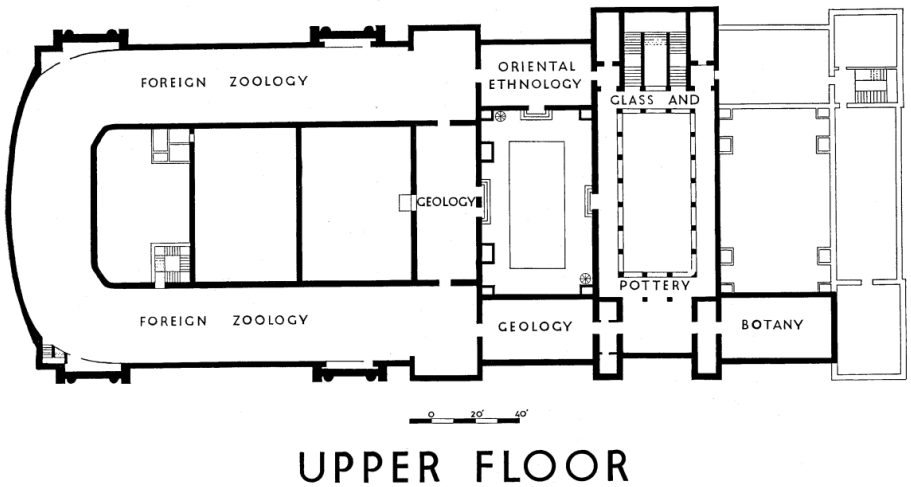


Image 4.8: Upper Floor plan of the Liverpool Public Museum, 1930s (Courtesy NML, MMAL, SA, image archives)

4.3i: The gallery of 'Economic Botany'

A year after the opening of the 'Aegean and Hittite Gallery' Harold Stansfield, Keeper of the botany collections, established 'The Gallery of Economic Botany' (Millard, 2010, p. 48) to replace the 'Botany Gallery' on the upper floor (image 4.8). The creation of such a gallery at this point in time reifies the theory that the Liverpool Public Museum was essentially a local attempt to salvage British Imperial ideal in the face of the changing global and national political climate. This gallery categorised processes of agricultural, industrial and economic colonisation which supported the empire (Richards, 2010). This mechanism was only possible through the appropriation of foreign land, climes, and labour, which were combined to generated exportable comestibles for the growing European consumerist middle classes. This process in turn provided employment for the working class Britons which reinforced the aspirational social stratification necessary for this socio-economic structure to succeed (Porter, 2006, p. 31).

This gallery display celebrated the role played by Liverpool in augmenting the British Empire through trade and transport of produce. This included sugar, tobacco, cotton, tea and coffee which were shown alongside corresponding maps of origin, diagrams, photographs and dioramas of their cultivation and overseas transport to other markets. The general viewing public would have come in contact with aspects of these processes during their daily lives giving this gallery particular significance in Liverpool. It opened with quite a splash at the time (2nd July, 1932), inaugurated by Sir John Shuckburgh who was Deputy Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Millard, 2010, p. 50). The display might have been specifically designed to complement the aims of the Empire Marketing Board however its design gives the impression that its narrative was perceived in retrospect; meaning that it was created as a late reaction to a declining imperial situation which was past redeeming. It could be understood that by simply including these cultural aspects within the heterotopia of a museum they were automatically relegated to the 'past' as perceived by visitors who came expecting to view the 'past' within such an institution. Perhaps unintentionally, this gallery was the only forward-looking historic display in the museum by portraying a

scenario as anthropological history rather than in the form of concurrent representation of the city.

The other two galleries on the upper floor, 'Foreign Zoology' and 'Geology', were so generic in their displays and themes that they could only be interpreted within the parameters of the outdated and depreciative evolutionary Darwinian display methods present in earlier Western collections as described in section 4.1.

4.4 The Liverpool Public Museum as institution for education

Allan was known for his forward thinking ideas pertaining to the public role museums should deliver (Smail, 1967). He was a great believer in stimulating interest in museums through popularised lectures, films, exhibitions and school visits. He started holding evening winter lectures at the institution which he doubled the following year due to the programme's success. He also reconfigured the staff hierarchies within the museum; he created keepers for each department, which in 1931 covered ethnology, archaeology, zoology, botany and geology. For the Archaeology department he appointed Elaine Tankard (Millard, 2010, p. 48). Tankard's early installations involved a 'Children's Corner' which included historic British and international toys and national costumes (Allan, 1937, p. 24). This featured a blackboard map for children to leave questions and to read the answers. At Christmas she held children's lectures which were hugely popular with estimates of about 250 attendees per lecture (Millard, 2010, p. 49). These same targets for improving access for marginalised social groups are still relevant to museum directors today (Arts Council, England, 2014).

Within two years of his directorship Allan had managed to double the number of children visiting the museum in school groups to 8,771, hailing from 173 schools. There was also a schools loans service which sent out 2,987 specimens to 156 schools in 1931. Other 'outreach' museum services included the supply of fish from the museum aquariums to stock school aquariums and ponds (Millard, 2010, p. 47). It is possible that Garstang felt that, given the efforts towards broadening the social backgrounds and ages of their visitors, the museum was not the place for

archaeological education and thus did not feel motivated to contribute to the curation of the Hittite section.

Image 4.9: Byrom Terrace, 1933 (Wilkinson, 2011)

A social survey of Merseyside published in 1934 by the University of Liverpool states that in Liverpool (1931) 95% of children only attended full-time education between the ages of 5 and 13. Employment on leaving school or finding ways of spending leisure time until that occurred, had become a social concern as it was thought to make them incapable of pursuing 'healthy and cultured leisure interests' (Caradog Jones, 1934, p. 63) when they reached adulthood. Furthermore since 1930 Liverpool featured consistently as one of the British districts with the highest ratio of poor relief to total population (Caradog Jones, 1934, p. 64). This resulted in a lot of people with little financial means and a lot of leisure time keen to entertain themselves at little cost. The poverty at home and the rates of crime on the streets would have made the museum, with its free facilities and shelter, a welcome respite for large numbers of children and young people (Davis, 2008).

However the huge popularity of the museum with the younger independent type of visitor was a real problem:

> <u>Disorder at the Museum: Sunday Crowds of nearly 7,000: 'Hide and Seek' round cases</u>
>
> Following complaints of rowdyism [*sic*] and almost unimaginable crowds at the Liverpool Museums on Sundays, the Liverpool Libraries, Museums, Arts and Music Committee yesterday decided to make recommendations to the Council. There was only one door by which exit to the street could be

> obtained, and the fact that it took twenty to twenty-five minutes to clear the buildings raised a serious position if any accident occurred.
>
> Answering questions Dr. Allan said that of these 7,000 persons more than 3,000 were children whose ages ranged from three to twelve years. Many of them played hide-and-seek round the cases. A large number of young men and women used the museum for promenading, and the number of people who were visiting the museum for the purpose of inspecting the exhibits was less than 2,000.
>
> The committee decided to recommend to the Council that children should not be admitted to the museums on Sunday afternoons unless accompanied by adults, and that when the attendance reached 5,000, further admissions should be regulated according to the numbers leaving.

Liverpool Daily Post, 1935

There is certainly a concern with the security and safety of visitors given the large numbers, queues and the single exit however the other two paragraphs indicate a concern with the utilisation of the museum space, and by whom. Having children running riot, unsupervised within museums was not something new or reserved to Liverpool. Stanley Jevons, while commenting about the effectiveness of turnstiles to record visitor numbers at the South Kensington Museum, said in 1883:

> [...] the neighbouring wealthy residents are in the habit, on a wet day, of packing their children off in a cab to the so-called Brompton Boilers [*Victoria and Albert Museum*], in order that they may have a good run through the Galleries [...]

(Stanley, 1883)

The quotes above portray museums to be at the heart of social interaction, at least for the younger generations. These are visitor numbers that museums today hope for. Comparatively the World Museum (WM) venue welcomed an average of 2,103 visitors per day for the period from 1st January to 30th June 2012 (NML, 2012).

Allan was in fact very successful in increasing the numbers of young visitors, as was the original purpose of such institutions, and given the situation described above for out-of-school unemployed working class youths one can surmise that these made up large parts of the visitor numbers. Allan's success was based upon the interpretation of the museum as a local celebration of the city and the achievements gained by the common working man; as well as being one of the very

first museums to have a dedicated children's educational programme in-house and in the community (Millard, 2010, pp. 46, 49, 63). The conflicting issues surfaced when this same lower demographic utilised the museum as a form of popular entertainment ignoring its pedagogic intent.

The visitors who would have expressed an educated interest in the museum displays would have hailed from the traditional middle class demographic as argued by Bourdieu in 1969 (Bourdieu and Darbel, 2008). So, despite attracting the visitor numbers from the lower-classes for the purpose of edification as directed by the state, museum staff and newspapers reverted to a middle class stereotype by disapproving of their presence and thus engendering and reinforcing the class divide they simultaneously condemned on moral grounds.

Yet even if only 2,000 of the visitors in 1935 were there for the displays it appears that genuine public interest was very high. On the other hand, the emerging rival to public museums as cheap entertainment was the cinema. This only took hold of the middle classes after 1936, when Odeon opened its suburban theatres (Richards, 2010, p. 17). Prior to this, cinema had been growing rapidly in popularity for ten years – 85 complexes opened in Liverpool in 1930. These were mainly patronised by the lower working classes (Richards, 2010, p. 12) which must have diluted the visitor numbers for which institutions such as museums, libraries and galleries were originally intended for (Smith, 2005, p. 66). Concerns of influence and education for the lower classes through this popular entertainment had been appearing since the late 1920s (Reardon, 1929; Martindale, 1929).

Despite signs of popular and generic modernity developing in Liverpool (such as cinema) and reinforced cultural links with the United States, and despite experiencing one global war, and the subsequent social disaffection with the class system and top-down rule it appears that the museum in Liverpool persevered with epistemological symbolism representing the port and city of Liverpool's identity within an imagined British Empire.

4.5: Overview of origin of the 'Garstang Hittite Collection'

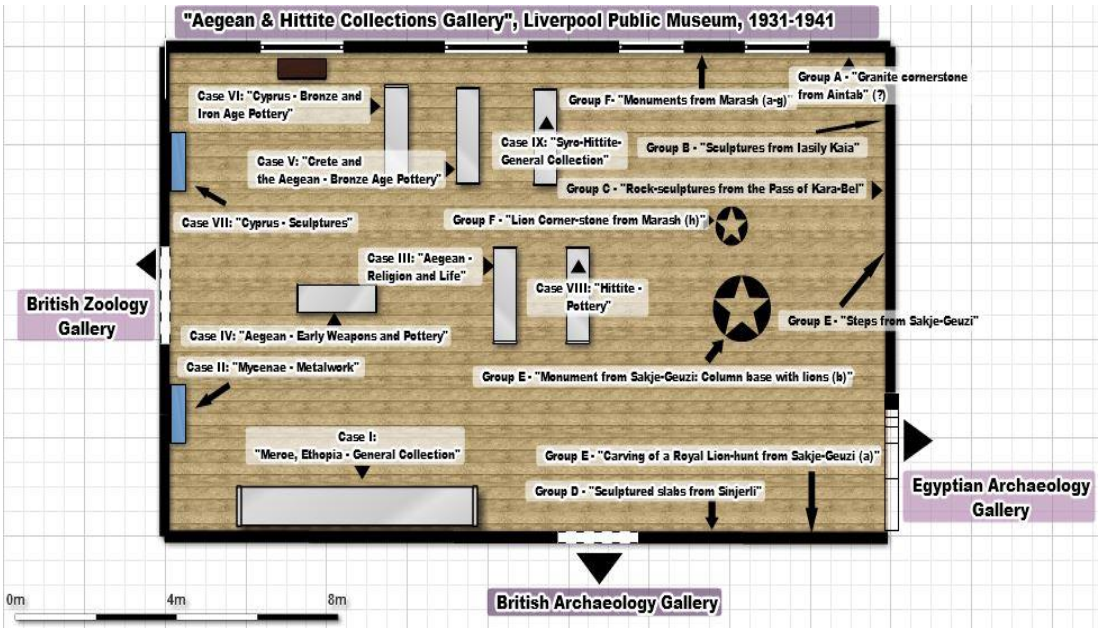


Image 4.10: Floor plan of the "Aegean and Hittite Collections" gallery. Image reproduced in Volume Two (Françoise Rutland, 2014)

There were two main types of Hittite materials in the gallery. The first of these was the striking set of plaster casts of Hittite sculptures, variously acquired by John Garstang over a number of years. The second were archaeological artefacts on loan to the museum, the most important of which were the specimens given to Garstang by the Ottoman authorities following his excavations at Sakçagözü in 1908 and 1911 (see Chapter Two).

During his excavations in 1908, Garstang had uncovered a unique set of architectural reliefs at Sakçagözü. Even when he was first applying to the Ottoman authorities for a permit to excavate at the site, he had already expressed his intention to make plaster casts of any reliefs found (D/D/v/2/30, Garstang-Pears corr., 15.07.1908, Garstang Museum archives, UoL). Once the Sakçagözü reliefs had been uncovered, Garstang's assistant Horst Schliephack (see Appendix Two), made squeezes of the sculptures as they were uncovered and at the end of the excavation season they were sent to the Archaeology Museum in Istanbul. From here they were eventually sent on to Berlin, where casts were produced and sent on to Liverpool. During 1913, the Sakçagözü casts had been produced with the assistance of Schliephack and were on public display in Liverpool. This series included the Lion orthostats (Garstang's term is "Lion Corner Stones"), processions of mythological

creatures and figures of the King-Priest and his attendants from the Çoba Höyük (Jobba Hüyük) mound (Garstang, 1913a, p. 65) (see Appendix Eleven).

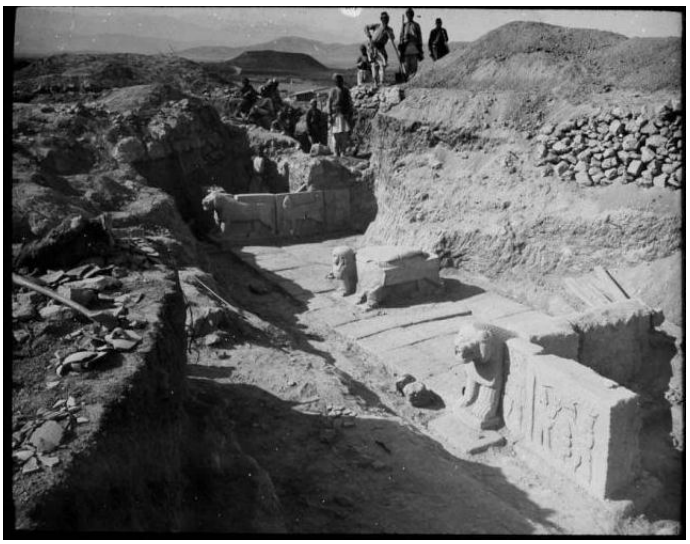


Image 4.11: Garstang's photograph, Sakçagözü the excavated portico of a palace, decorated with panels of sculpted relief and a decorated column-base, 1907 (UoL, GM, SG-061)

These early casts depicting sculptures from the sites of Yazılıkaya, Karabel, Zincirli, and Maraş in Turkey. Garstang had the moulds manufactured at the *Gipsformerei* (plaster cast replica workshop) at the Berlin State Museum in 1912, which had been producing reproduction casts for the Victoria and Albert Museum since the 1870s. The casts were paid for from those early private excavation committee funds and initially bequeathed to the IoA (UoL, GM, letter Bosanquet-Garstang 1908; Bosanquet, 1907-1908). In 1913 Garstang loaned them to the Liverpool Public Museum (UoL, GM, Accessions 1913) where they were displayed in a rather jumbled form on the top floor. The cast moulds still reside in the Berlin *Gipsformerei* archives today, from which new copies continue to be produced and sold. New casts have recently been made for the "*John Garstang and the Hittite World*" Exhibition, Victoria Gallery and Museum, University of Liverpool, UK (2011 – 2013).

Although the Hittite casts and artefacts from John Garstang's excavations at Sakçagözü had been brought back to Liverpool and were on public display from 1913 (Leslie, 1914, p. 8), it was not until the opening of a dedicated gallery at Liverpool Public Museum in 1931 that they were brought to full public attention.

Allan reconfigured the ‘Aegean’ gallery to incorporate all the Hittite and Neo-Hittite plaster casts, artefact collections, and image reproductions to create a dedicated ‘Aegean and Hittite Collections’ gallery. This gave a generic overview of ‘Hittite civilization’ which was first of its kind in Britain, and most likely also in Europe.

Enough artefacts and archival evidence such as the original reference cards, a copy of the original ‘Aegean and Hittite Collections’ guidebook and the inauguration photograph (image 4.4) have survived to allow for a possible visual reconstruction of this lost gallery (image 4.10).

4.6: The Hittite casts collection as presented by the ‘Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery guidebook

As it is the only extant primary evidence for the contents and interpretation of this gallery, I include here a summary of the Hittite gallery as given in the guidebook. Volume Two of this thesis provides the full archaeological catalogue of the ‘Hittite’ gallery contents.

The guidebook introduction defined the Hittite empire as the “Hatti” from central Asia Minor while the Neo-Hittites were referred to as their ““Hittite” descendants from the cities of “Northern Syria.” (Allan, 1931, p. 26). Geographically labelled as from Asia Minor, the Hittite sculpture casts were mounted on the walls and described as featuring people from the Old Testament. They were presented as six sculptural groups labelled A to F. The information provided for the museum visitor can only be deduced from this guidebook as the display labels did not survive (Allan, 1931) .

The gallery was split into plaster cast groups and cases. The guidebook refers to two Hittite cases (VIII and IX), one holding small pottery and stone artefacts and another holding seals and tablets from Babylon and Assyria focusing upon their ‘peculiar’ cuneiform writing. It is explained that all other materials which might be expected (e.g. metal, ivory, wood and textiles) on display were lost due to the accelerated decay in countries of Asia Minor (Allan, 1931, p. 26).

In the guidebook is the only mention of an original Hittite monument in Liverpool. Evidence for this object is nowhere to be found apart from here. It is not known how this joined the collection. It is described as object "A – Granite Corner-stone from Aintab". One side bore a hieroglyphic inscription, defined as Babylonian cuneiform and the other side depicted a human foot, all that remained from a standing figure in relief. This artefact went missing during the Blitz of 1941 (Antiquities dept. archives, WM, NML).

A detailed description and interpretation was given to the groups of casts - the Yazılıkaya group (B) consisted of fourteen individual plaster casts placed together to form one scene titled "Assembly of all the gods". It was at the time interpreted as a gathering at a 'Divine Marriage' with the god *Teshub*, a Mother-goddess shrine, suggesting a ceremonial blend with the northern Sky-god *Teshub* (Allan, 1931, p. 26). The Kadesh treaty seal was recognised and identified with the royal symbols at this site.

Cast C consisted of a Hittite warrior-god found at the Karabel pass in what the guidebook calls "national costume". The guidebook mentions Herodotus' report of the same site believing it to be an Egyptian sculpture of *Sesostris*, and dates it to c. 1290 BC.

Casts from Zincirli were grouped as D and identified as a mix of Hattic Imperial period (Hittite empire) and others of a later time with strong Assyrian influence. The guidebook went into individual details for each of the eight slabs.

Group E was made up of three casts from Sakçagözü. A 'Royal Lion Hunt' depiction, a column base surrounded by upturned fingers and five-legged sphinxes (image 4.12) and a ceremonial feast. The style on all three pieces was attributed to the Assyrians.

The next group of eight labelled as F depicted monuments from Maraş, identified to be of later date than when *Subbiluliuma* used Maraş as a strategic centre in his wars (c. 1450 BC). Five consisted of various representations of ceremonial feasts – highlighting women's robes, furniture, food and musical instruments. The following

three depicted a figure leading a horse, a chariot and a group of hieroglyphic symbols. These were followed by the final cast of a Lion Corner-stone (orthostat) smaller in size than the Sakçagözü one but similar and covered in Hittite hieroglyphs - probably the Maraş lion from the British Museum (Allan, 1931, p. 28).

Image 4.12: Garstang's photo of the column base at Sakçagözü, prior to reburial. Cast b from Group E above. (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-063)

Allan described the restored vessels from the Coba Höyük mound at Sakçagözü as the most interesting (image 4.13). They had also been published by the Assyriologist Henri de Genouillac from the Oriental Antiquities department at the Louvre museum in *Ceramique Cappadocienne* (1926). Frankfort discussed some of the Sakçagözü sherds in his 1927 publication (p. 154), however neither give details as to by whom or when these three sherds were restored. Garstang's photo suggests that this was done as soon as they arrived at the Institute in 1908 (Garstang, 1908c).

Image 4.13: Garstang's photograph of the restored sherds from Coba Höyük (UoL, GM, SG-200)

4.7: Sir Leonard Woolley's Deve Hüyük 1913 contributions

The 'Garstang Hittite Collection' as it is now includes the Neo-Hittite and 5th century Achaemenid artefacts collected and donated by Sir Leonard Woolley. This was the result of his 1912-1914 salvage expedition to Aleppo, working with D.G. Hogarth, R.C. Thompson, and T.E. Lawrence, on behalf of the British Museum (Woolley, 1914; Woolley, 1922). This collection made up one-fifth of the material brought back from Turkey; the other 4 parts went to the Ashmolean Museum, the British Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum and Berlin Pergamon Museum (Woolley, 1922; Garstang, 1929). This collection has been extensively published and therefore I only go into brief detail here (Hogarth, 1926, pp. 25-43).

The Woolley pieces made part of the 1931 'Aegean and Hittite Gallery' as one of two display cases, case IX (Allan, 1931, p. 29), referred to as Syro-Hittite. Woolley assisted the curator, Vaughan, with the labelling before the 1931 opening (NML, Antiquities coll., Hittite collection gallery reference cards, 1929) and the Deve Hüyük reference cards were found inserted with the Garstang ones. The Assyrian sculpture which was not recovered after the 1941 Blitz was comprised of a statue of King Ashurnasirpal (884 – 860BC) and a black obelisk of King Shalmaneser II which featured the inscription 'tribute of the kings of the Hittites, all of them' (Allan, 1931, p. 18).

The guidebook attributes the Deve Hüyük contribution to ‘Mr. C. Leonard Woolley’ stating clearly that these came from the Second Cemetery during the Berlin to Baghdad railway construction and were sold to him by locals (Allan, 1931, p. 29). Moorey (1980) clarified that the labelling on these objects was not accurate as they were acquired from various sources such as markets, dealers, peasants and various excavated sites (see Appendix Ten). Once again it is the archaeologist who is focused upon in the ‘Aegean and Hittite Collections’ guidebook, as a British agent who had saved these artefacts from the destruction and looting of what was considered as the 'primitive' Oriental as proof of the evolution of civilization (Bahrani, 2003, p. 85).

The collection featured characteristic Achaemenid objects include zoomorphic ceramic rhyta, lamps, bronze bowls, lug handled alabastra, socketed spearheads, iron daggers, copper horse bits and bells. Objects of personal adornment such as wrist and ankle bracelets and elbow fibulae are also present along with silver earrings, beads, pendants, bronze kohl tubes, and copper or bronze mirrors. Various objects showed strong Egyptian and Persian influences. To some degree the Parthian and Late Iron Age periods were also represented within the collection (Moorey, 1980, cp.6).

The following paragraph questions the terms of definition applied within the gallery by using the ‘Aegean and Hittite Collections’ guidebook as reference. Thematically, despite all various aspects of cultural evidence apparent through the presented archaeology, the curator focused upon armies, wars, naval powers, empire building, and migrations always in relation to Greek and Egyptian history. The choice of these themes demonstrates the socio-political constructs, and popular history, the average visitor to this gallery and museum would have been familiar with, which in turn eased the narratives’ transmission, understanding and pleasure to its audience. Furthermore, it supports a thesis of divergent roles between museum and university as institutes of education. Despite their almost concurrent professionalisation and departmental specialisation the public role of the municipal museum emerged as that for middle class acculturation, civic pride, and in support of primary and secondary school education. This explains why, despite having

University professors consulting on the display of the archaeology museum galleries the overarching narrative is not that of furthering academic knowledge but of portraying everyday themes through artefacts associated with the celebrated local archaeologists rather than with their inherent archaeological value.

The country of Turkey is not mentioned anywhere within the guidebook, with one mention of Anatolia; while geographical context is limited to terms of Asia Minor, Syria, Cyprus, Egypt and Greece:

> The Hittites of Elisha's day were found to be only the weaker and more scattered descendants of a people who in earlier times had dominated Asia Minor and faced great Pharaohs on equal terms. It has recently been proved also that they were in contact with the Achaeans, the ancestors of the Homeric Greeks.

(Allan, 1931, p. 12)

> In Asia Minor, similarly, a conquering Indo-European aristocracy, speaking not Greek but an allied tongue called Nasili, gradually occupied strategic positions among its tangled valleys and began to drill the native Anatolian peasantry into a formidable fighting force.

(Allan, 1931, p. 16)

Some terminologies created by Western discourse reinforced an epistemology of separation and cultural division in archaeology and the arts between what was seen as the adopted Western Hellenic and Egyptian culture. In the case of Turkey, as the Hittite Collection gallery was being set up, the Turkish nation and language was being built and defined according to the policies of the Kemâlist government. One of the major cultural revisions was the 'Sun Language' which suppressed and replaced large swathes of the previous Ottoman language group (Chapter Five). This created, and still does create, difficulties for scholars and curators with labelling and appropriate terminology.

The English word 'Greece' derives from the Latin word 'graecus' which was applied to the Hellas and the Hellenes by Western scholars. That nation was, and is, known to its people as Hellas and anything pertaining to it is Hellenic. Therefore, applying

the term Hellenic returns cultural ownership from Western parameters to the native local.

Mesopotamia is a Hellenic term for what today is Iraq, translated into English from Greek, Mesopotamia means 'Land between Rivers' (Tigris and Euphrates) which is also the literal translation of the ancient local Hebrew name 'Aram-Naharaim'. 'Aram-Naharaim' is mentioned various times in the Old Testament Bible (e.g. Genesis 24.4) and is also identified in the Egyptian tablets of Amarna as 'Naharaim'. The name 'Mesopotamia' was coined by Josephus (a Hebrew-Roman historian, 1st Century AD) which entered British knowledge through William Whiston's English translation in 1732 (*The Works of Flavius Josephus*). The choice of 'Mesopotamia' over Iraq or even Aram-Naharaim is not specifically a Western terminology as it was created by a Hebrew historian, however it still allowed for a disassociation of the artefacts and narrative from its original cultural and geographical origins and transferred the knowledge context to British scholarly parameters. One cannot claim that the British public, at this point, was ignorant of the term of Mesopotamia standing in for Iraq, as this region had been governed as a British Mandate of Mesopotamia since 1920 and gained independence as the Kingdom of Iraq in 1930 (Grenville and Wasserstein, 2013, p. 117).

Assyria is the native given name for northern Iraq, but it also refers to an antique culture, and all that was related to it, of which little was known, rather than a modern nation with fixed geographic borders. Syria was referred to in Assyrian and Babylonian texts as 'Abar Nahara' (i.e. The [western] Land Beyond the [Euphrates] River) and in the West known of through the Bible (Ezra 4:16) and Herodotus (*Hist*. 3.91). However the peoples and associated regions denoted by the term 'Abar Nahara' fluctuated according to political climates even in antiquity. These ancient cultures were framed in terms deciphered by Western scholars from surviving written records which in turn allowed curators to refer to a collective culture by a name given to themselves as a group or the names which were given to them by other ancient cultures. Some of the antiquity names are ambiguous as is the case with archaeology from Syria, Canaanites and Phoenicians as they were never a single political unity, individuals self-identified according to the closest city of origin,

without a notion of patriotic nationhood - an identity not necessarily corresponding and recognised by those of other cities (Albright, 1966, pp. 4, 8) Names indicating antique cultures in history have fluctuated as geographic, philological, and archaeological research develops, usually in conjunction with each other. New discoveries and knowledge by turns enlightens and obfuscates and as the role of museums has increasingly diverged from that of universities as knowledge generators they are sometimes left to their own devises as to what terminologies are appropriate for their galleries.

The identity and ownership of a territory is very much linked with its language and place names as these indicate heritage and rights. This aspect will be fully explored with relation to the political utility of Hittite archaeology in Turkey as it established itself as a Kemâlist Republic in Chapter Five. However, the use of Western terminologies allowed for a disassociation of the object, narrative or body of knowledge from its original cultural and geographical context and instead transferred knowledge ownership to those who understood it within the parameters of a Eurocentric historicity (Bahrani, 2006, p. 50). For instance the Palestine Exploration Fund commenced geographic mapping of Palestine in the 1870s following on the identification of Biblical sites by Edward Robinson in 1841. Their aims included establishing the Arabic place-names as a basis for the scholarly identification of Biblical sites. Once these maps with the Arabic terms were compiled, they were utilised for teaching (i.e. knowledge transference) but with all the Arabic names replaced with the English transliterations of the Biblical ones. The Arabic identity of this territory was utilized for geographic identification of Western Biblical knowledge investigations and quickly discarded once what was sought was secured (Chapman and Gibson, 1996). Similarly the Israeli National Commission replaced the Arabic place-names from the map with Hebrew ones following Israeli Independence in 1948, whereby the naming of things denotes ownership in varying degrees (Azaryahu and Golan, 2001, pp. 180-2).

4.8: Dynamics between museum and university

This section presents two archival cases which shed some light upon the relations between the Liverpool museum archaeology department and Liverpool IoA as institutions with divergent didactic roles.

A few comments found in archive correspondence suggest that relations between the municipal museum and the university were not always easy, despite the social intentionality of appealing to the same demographic for the purpose of education. The Liverpool Public Museums, Library and Gallery Committee members were portrayed as undiscerning opportunists by Garstang, who, in his view, would demand anything from the Institute of Archaeology in the name of free public edification without contributing funds or research (NML, MMAL, FCD, D/D/V 2-30, PF #06, letter Garstang-Danson 2nd March 1906). It appears that Garstang showed little concern over the interpretation they gave his collections and did not send anything he deemed academically valuable. This aspect of value is further discussed in Chapter Six and Volume Two. By 1929 he had removed his seal collection (presently not located) from their stores and his more valuable artefacts (e.g. the head of Augustus and the Meröitic stela reproduced in case I) were sent to the British Museum, which he recognised as an institution concerned with the archiving of knowledge rather than a municipal transmitter of provincial imperial metanarrative (Garstang, 1950).

Within the guidebook the museum chose to minimise their relations with the university and identified the collections by the archaeologists who discovered them. This not only allowed the curator to enforce the national rhetoric of eminent British subjects from Liverpool venturing out in the world to conquer knowledge for the augmentation of the British Empire (Richards, 1992, p. 106), but that it was done for the direct benefit of the common citizen through the displays at the free museum with no possible elitist academic connotations (‘Specimens of Hittite Antiquities Deposited in the Liverpool Museums’, Antiquities Dept. WM, NML).

Of course the case was that both Bosanquet and Garstang were already well known through the popular public lecture circuits. They had at various points published

reports of their excavations in national and local papers. Garstang held yearly public viewings of his excavations in London and Liverpool (Chapter Two) and therefore the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery acted as a further venue of publicity for the local archaeologists. On the other hand the museum depended on such archaeologists and academics to augment their displays, visitor numbers, and sustain the credibility of the museum as a genuine educational institution. Periodically it appears that the relationship between the public museum and the university was that of grudging symbiosis, discomfiting and beneficial in equal parts.

In a letter addressed to the printers Messrs. Constable and Co. Ltd of London Allan stated that:

> Professor Garstan[*g*] himself has taken a great interest in the preparation of this little booklet, which he has revised, and has given full permission to use any of the illustrations in his books.

(NML, Antiquities archive, letter Allan – Constable and Co. 21st January 1931)

As Garstang's various archives never refer to this publication or the gallery I understand that the intention of this correspondence was to provide reassurance of copyright and exigency to the publishers rather than accurate information regarding Garstang's degree of involvement.

4.9: The Liverpool museum staff as implementers of imperial rhetoric

The following section looks into the levels of involvement by particular museum staff investigating socio-pedagogic inclinations within the Hittite guidebook and its corresponding gallery. The social, political or ideological beliefs of the main acting agents are to be considered as the driving force behind the narratives presented within the gallery. In this case the main personages were Dr Douglas Allan, the Museum Director, Miss Elaine Tankard, the Keeper of Antiquities, Miss Dorothy M. Vaughan, the curator of the Hittite collection, Woolley who assisted Vaughan, and Garstang as representative archaeologist of the Institute of Archaeology and owner of the Hittite collection.

4.9a: Biblical references within the 'Hittite Collection' gallery

The guidebook introduced the ‘Hittites’ as a newly recovered civilization which had been buried and forgotten. This was illustrated with Garstang’s map of the ‘Hittite World’ (Garstang, 1910, p. 391). It followed with the assumption that any Bible-reader would have been familiar with the name of the Hittites and their military might without further elaboration (Allan, 1931, p. v).

Garstang’s survey report of Hittite sites was published in 1910 and the Bible is only mentioned in it in the context of Biblical archaeology, largely in reference to Hilprecht’s publications (Hilprecht, 1896a, 1905; Garstang, 1910, pp. xi, 133, 392). Little else had been published since then and only Garstang tackled Hittite civilisation within Near Eastern geographically parameters. The museum guidebook was targeted at a predominantly Christian demographic, so Biblical Hittite references within the introduction provided a common contextual point of reference (Allan, 1931, p. 11). Yet these were refrained from within the main Hattic and Hittite sections both in the guidebook and on the gallery floor. The descriptions here referred to contemporaneous ancient Egyptian and Hittite inscriptions (Allan, 1931, pp. 16-8). This suggests that the introduction was by Allan, whose expertise was in maintaining visitor popularity through cultural inclusion.

The specific sections were provided by Vaughan who applied the academic method she acquired as an alumna of the IoA at Liverpool, avoiding unsubstantiated statements referring to the Bible. She provided a short bibliography listing Garstang’s 1910 publication within the guidebook but included a much more detailed bibliography within the individual reference cards (NML, Antiquities coll.). These exclusively referred to corresponding excavation reports.

It has been suggested that Garstang was seeking Biblical sites on excavations at Jericho (1930s) (Thornton, 2012), with which I agree especially since his funder was Sir Charles Marston (1927, 1934, and 1937). Being busy in Palestine would explain his apparent lack of interest in this gallery (Chapter Two). Conversely the Sakçagözü excavation committees included Sir John Brunner, Dr Ludwig Mond, his son Sir Robert Ludwig Mond and Mr Henry Martyn Kennard from 1908 (Garstang, 1908c, p.

98). Brunner was a chemical industrialist, Liberal politician, Freemason and philanthropist with no apparent religious interests (Koss, 1970, pp. 6-9). Mond, a German-Jew, was Brunner's industrial partner (Cohen, 1956) and did not practise his religious beliefs (Weintraub, 2003, p. 30). Neither did his son, Robert (Newberry, 1938, p. 210). Both Kennard, a magistrate (Mosley, C., 1999), and Ludwig Mond had passed away before 1911. There was no incentive for Garstang to associate the Hittites with any Bible texts.

Garstang was not above using the Biblical angle to secure funding of interested backers where the opportunity arose (Garstang, 1926; Garstang, 1934); however this was certainly not the case with Sakçagözü or any other Turkish and Syrian sites he explored.

4.9b: The curator's view of the 'Hittite Collection'

The 'Hittite Collection' displays were curated entirely by Vaughan over two years (Vaughan corr. 1927-29, Antiquities Archive, WM, NML). She was assisted, to some degree by Prof. Woolley and Prof. Droop. She was also responsible for cataloguing the collection, compiling the visitors' reference cards and preparing the visitors' guide book which went on sale for 3 pence (Allan, 1931, p. 7). The small labels utilised at this time were not meant to hold a lot of information, as they were restricted by space and the curator was aware that few visitors would withstand reading a lengthy text (Shapiro and Ward Kemp, 1990, p. 20). Thus there was little opportunity to include information from Garstang's 1910 book even if this had been considered. A reference bibliography was provided in the guidebook and reference cards available to scholars.

The main themes focused upon in the guidebook were Hittite empire building, naval and land warfare, and religion:

> […] under the rule of Subbiluliuma, sometimes called "the Hittite Bismarck," who came to the throne about 1400BC and by patient diplomacy followed by hammer-strokes of war built up an empire on his southern frontier.

(Allan, 1931, p. 16)

Subjects close to Liverpool cultural identity were thus presented within a Biblical narrative. In a gallery report reproduced below Vaughan clearly stated that the guidebook was written "on popular lines" and many of the artefacts, both on display and within the museum stores, were "miscellaneous curios" collected by travellers as "murdered evidence" lacking provenance (NML, Antiquities archive, Aegean and Hittite Gallery report, February 1931). She was well aware that the role of the museum was not to disseminate accurate archaeological and historical information, but to act as a support platform for general knowledge presented in a framework of British identity best related to by the Liverpool public.

Vaughan wrote a short report presenting the newly arranged gallery:

"This displayed the new arrangement of the Bosanquet and Garstang collections of Aegean, Hittite and Meroitio [*Meröen*] antiquities in the Liverpool Museum. These collections, lent by the two distinguished archaeologists and the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology, were on view some years ago, but were then stored to make room for other material. It was decided in 1929 to exhibit them once more, and the Committee invited me to undertake the task of overhauling, cataloguing and re-arranging them. A Handbook to the collections has been prepared, on popular lines, which may be supplemented by reference to the detailed card-index. [*Still at NML*]

The photograph is taken from among the Hittite material, some of which is prominent in the foreground. Beyond the door in the left-hand wall is the case containing selected objects from Professor Garstang's excavations at Meröe in 1910-1914(Garstang 1910-1914). The Bosanquet Collections occupies the far wall and the right-hand corner of the room, the vases including both original pots from Professor Bosanquet's excavations at Palaikastro in Crete and copies of famous Minoan vases, being displayed in the case which partly blocks the view through the doorway. The case between the windows on the right contains Cypriote pottery of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, the property of the Museum. Other cases – one containing sculptures from Cyprus, also Museum property, and those containing Hittite pottery and small objects – were not in their permanent positions when the photo was taken and do not appear. The centre foreground is occupied by the cast of the central column-base of the Palace entrance at Sakje-Geuzi [Sakçagözü] in North Syria, excavated by Professor Garstang in 1908-12; part of the wing-tower appears to the right. A series of casts of other Hittite monuments, partly seen in the left foreground lines the walls behind and to the right of the camera; it includes the great rock-carvings of Iasily Kaia [Yazılıkaya] and Kara-Bel [Karabel], and selected slabs from Marash, Sinjerli, and Sakje-Geuzi [Sakçagözü] itself.

It will be seen that Liverpool museum is indeed fortunate in possessing two such collections. The fine reproductions from Knossos and Mycenae (by Gilliéron), as

well as the small original articles that help to build so vivid a picture of daily life in early Aegean days, have great artistic charm as well as scientific value. The Hittite material, I venture to think, is not easily paralleled in the British Isles, and reproductions in Istanbul or New York are to most people as inaccessible as the originals in Asia Minor. As for the Hittite pottery, there are not, as far as I know, more than six other museums possession examples of it (the Ashmolean, the Istanbul Archaeology Museum, two in Paris and two in Berlin Vorasiatischen Museum).

Two reflections are suggested by the study of this material. One is the very recent nature of the knowledge which it presents. Fifty years ago – less – such a collection could not have been assembled; the objects were indeed in existence, but (for the most part) buried and forgotten. The Hittite name was preserved in the Old Testament, the renown of Crete and Mycenae in dim legend. Now we can know the actual features, dress, and appearance of these peoples and handle their weapons, their cups and their platters, their children's toys. It is a very resurrection of these dead civilisations, achieved by the patience and sacrifice of scholars and travellers and their financial supporters.

The second reflection arises out of the first. Since so much archaeological knowledge is so new, is it not possible that our museums contain unsuspected treasures, acquired unwittingly before their importance could be appreciated? An incident from our own experience in Liverpool will illustrate this. While engaged in cataloguing the Aegean Pottery, I had occasion to consult Professor Droop on some doubtful points. He very kindly came down to the Museum to look at the pots in question, and almost as soon as he entered the room where I was working (which contained a good deal of stored stuff beside the Aegean material), his eye was caught by a striking sculptured head protruding from some old wrappings in a packing-case. That led to his examination of the case and its contents and of several others in the room, and in short to the re-discovery of the fine collection of Cypriote sculptures figured and discussed in the current issue of the Liverpool Annals of Art and Archaeology (Vol. XVIII, 1 and 2). Cypriote material, for several reasons, is more likely to have reached this country than objects from Crete or Asia with miscellaneous curios brought home by travellers rather than by the products of scientific excavations; but it seems not impossible, at least, that other store-rooms may similarly contain amongst such old accessions pieces put aside at the time as defying classification, but now capable of being fitted into the framework of recent knowledge. The probably lack of any adequate record of their provenance will have lessened their scientific value, so that from the strictly historical point of view they are merely "murdered evidence"; but they might none the less enrich some more systematically-acquired exhibit, and help to add detail to the rapidly growing and ever more fascinating picture of these early civilisations, so strangely brought to light.

D. M. VAUGHAN

(NML, Antiquities Archive, Aegean and Hittite Gallery Report February, 1931)

4.10: A postcolonial reading of the 1930s Neo-Hittite artistic evaluation – the view of two curators

The language utilized in relation to the Neo-Hittite sculpture casts by the curators is indicative of the value placed on this culture's artistic merits and place in the evolution of art. The artistic interpretations tell of cultural projections as framed by Bhabha's arguments regarding mimicry and hybridity. An object on display supplies a subversive strategy of subaltern functionality as it is interpreted through a process of iterative 'unpicking' and incommensurable and contextual relinking (Bhabha, 2007, p. 265). This applies in the case of Neo-Hittite sculpture as representative of Oriental heritage viewed at the beginning of the 20th century in a British municipal context. The artefact itself becomes a link and agent of conveyance, telling of the contingent ideologies of the host culture. It also becomes the metonymy for an indeterminate cultural and archaeological origin – the Near East as 'other unknown' (Bahrani, 2003, p. 82). The two views below tell of the cultural and academic contexts the curators pertain to.

4.10a: Vaughan's artistic interpretation

Dorothy Vaughan published a short report regarding the dado-sculpture casts of the Sakçagözü palace portico (Garstang, 1929, p. 268) which were included within the gallery (Vaughan, 1934) and lost during the 1941 Blitz (Allan, 1941; Allan, 1941a). Vaughan felt that Neo-Hittite art should be considered more elevated than Hogarth (1926) and others had implied. She agreed that the style was Neo-Assyrian however original Hittite features were evident. Describing the unusual three dimensional effect found rarely in Neo-Hittite sculpture in great detail Vaughan found the portrayal of the Priest King (image 4.14) 'unexpectedly realistic and pleasing' and suggestive of particular artistic development at Sakçagözü. She found the opposing portico sphinx much less technically advanced (image 4.15) (Vaughan, 1934, pp. 39-40).

She noted a diminution of the three dimensional effect as one approached the portico walls and advanced toward the central interior where the depictions became mundane in subject and artistic merit. She suggested that these had

incipient affinities with ancient Greek art though she found few scholars who were willing to admit that North Syria was where the initial Greek styles originated (Rouet, 2001, p. 134). Of course today there has been a complete change in this situation as the Oriental sources of both Hellenic art and some mythology are widely recognised.

As a historian, rather than archaeologist, it appears that Vaughan was able to disassociate from the matrix of divisive epistemology of art history separating Western from non-Western aesthetics. However, she still interpreted the portico and the Priest King in direct comparison with Hellenic art as a form of cultural alterity whose value could only be articulated in relation to the epitome of artistic achievements of 5th century Greece. Giving Near Eastern visual culture marginal presence in cultural evolution, while upholding Europe and its associated Neo-Classical aesthetics (i.e. Christian and Renaissance) by which all other were to be measured, reinforced the hegemonic superiority epistemology over both artistic and social development.

Elaine Tankard discussed the artistic merits of the sculpture which was on display within the 'Aegean and Hittite Gallery' six years after Vaughan, in 1940.

4.10b: Tankard's artistic interpretation

Along with the gallery guidebook and Vaughan's dado-sculpture article Tankard's 1940 publication makes up the totality of artistic documentation regarding this Neo-Hittite cast collection. Tankard (see Appendix Nine), a Liverpool graduate of Classics and archaeology, compared the particular sculptural style of the Priest King of Sakçagözü to other sculpture casts within the gallery and also to that of Classical Greek sculptures along the lines of the 18th century classicist Johann Winckelmann. Tankard attributed the development of the "science of perspective" to the mid-5th century Hellenic, while prior to that all artists were content to express their ideas in accordance with the "primitive" (Tankard, 1939, p. 86) formula of movement within two planes rather than three with full-length eyes on a profile face, front-view torso upon a lower body in profile, apparently working from a mental picture of exaggerated characteristics rather than as in real life. This issue has come about

because this particular 8th century BC sculpture had strong three dimensional features executed at an oblique angle which was noted in an earlier article published in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* volume 26 (Tankard, 1939, pp. 85-89). Tankard put forward the suggestion that this was due to the difficulties of sculpting with no knowledge of foreshortening and three-dimensional perspective. Of course this interpretation is saturated with the discourse of Western colonial terminology using, through enunciation, this process of cultural subjectification of the Orient was maintained and reinforced as 'primitive' (Bahrani, 2006).

Image 4.14: The 'Priest King' sculpture cast (Tankard, 1939, pp. 89, plt.XLIII)

At Sakçagözü the ‘Hittite Priest King’ relief stood originally on the flanking wall inside the palace portico just in line behind a sphinx, which in turn was preceded by a lion executed in three-dimensions on the front half while its back half was in low relief. This is somewhat evident in Garstang’s photo below (image 4.15). The ‘Hittite Priest King’ is third in the line of sculptures just below where the workmen are sitting (image 4.15).

Image 4.15: Garstang photo, 1907, Priest King in situ far right, published in *The Land of the Hittites*, 1910 (5)

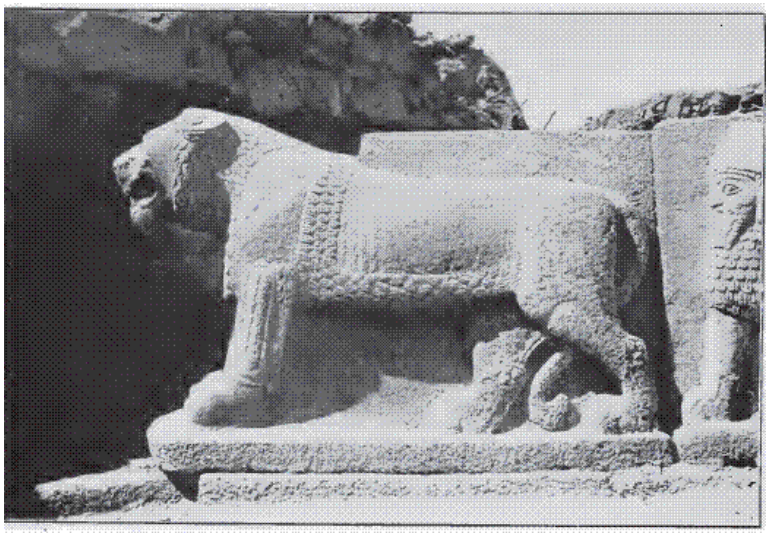


Image 4.16: Garstang's Sakçagözü: Lion Corner stone (orthostat) photograph, 1907, published in *The Land of the Hittite*, 1910 (5)

Tankard suggested that this combination of three dimensional subject portrayed onto a flat two dimensional portrayal is due to the lack of understanding of the artistic oblique view of a subject. Thus this same explanation was offered for the central column which features two lions which each feature five legs. Of their three hind legs two are viewed three dimensionally at the back but the third leg is a low relief repeat from the side (image 4.16).

The profile of the lion is carved in high relief to assimilate to the style of the three dimensional forequarters. The two sculptures following the lion are the human headed sphinx and the priest king which are both done in high relief to match. The

interpretation given for this peculiar style of high relief is that sculptor desired to depict a full front view of the face but in relief form. This arose due to the wish to conform these depictions to the hybrid lion statue at the head of the sculpture wall. The priest king sculpture cast was lost in a WWII blitz in 1941.

Despite Vaughan's earlier suggestions that these artistic executions showed affinities with the later Classical Hellenic aesthetic Tankard simply ignored the possibility and maintained the *a priori* hegemonic stance of ancient Near-Eastern sculpture as the aesthetic rendition of the historical subaltern to the political and cultural superiority of the Classical (i.e. West) following in the tradition of Herodotus in *Histories* and Plato in his *Menexus Dialogues* (Bahrani, 2003, pp. 27-8), and as perceived through the ontological didactic of the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool. The possibility of an East to West cultural evolutionary process was not addressed by Tankard. The difference between Vaughan's and Tankard's acknowledgement of 'Orientalization' might suggest that Vaughan, as a marginal scholar, was able to offer observations which would have been accepted if made buy a more mainstream scholar such as Tankard. Furthermore, both articles appeared in the Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology journal, rather than in any way related with the museum, which suggests these observations were meant for the academic university audience rather than the general public perusing the galleries.

4.11: May 1941 – Liverpool blitz destruction

Image 4.17: Aerial photograph of the resulting destruction on Castle Street, Liverpool, 1941 (Courtesy NML, SC, image archives)

In May 1941 Liverpool Public Museum was hit by German incendiary bombs. Despite the best efforts of 19 Volunteer Fire Guards and various A.F.S. men the fire spread throughout the wreckage and the museum lost the geology and foreign zoology sections, the 'Egyptology Hall', the 'Oriental Galleries', the 'Mayer Galleries' (i.e. Ceramics and Glass), the 'Old Liverpool Gallery', the Pacific ethnology collection and the 'Hittite and Aegean Collections' gallery. As pictured below there was some difficulty in recovering the remnant collection in the debris. Many of the Neo-Hittite sculpture casts are still visible hanging on the wall at the back to the left of the entrance archway (image 4.18).

Image 4.18: The 'Aegean and Hittite Collections Gallery', May 1941 salvage survey (Courtesy NML, SC, image archives)

Image 4.19: The 'Aegean and Hittite Collections Gallery', 1963 (Courtesy NML, SC, image archives)

The image above was the 'Aegean and Hittite Gallery' in 1963 as viewed from the basement (image 4.19). On the top left corner, next to what was the entrance archway, some casts were still hanging. These artefacts had not been removed for safe keeping as others of more material value had been, even though Allan presented them as a "practically unique exhibition" of an "excellent series of Hittite casts" (Allan, 1931). What survived the Blitz attack was jumbled up and misplaced in storage areas across the country. Since the plaster casts held no intrinsic material value those which survived the initial wartime destruction were abandoned to the elements. The IoA at the University had also sustained bomb damage and subsequently all casts there were also abandoned (UoL, GM, institute report 1953).

The Neo-Hittite casts were not considered a valuable part of the Hittite collection, either by the museum or by Garstang, despite the initial expense and effort to acquire them (see Appendix Eleven). Changing collection criteria during the late 1930s and 1940s regarded plaster reproductions as old fashioned, and no longer pedagogically useful with the result that many institutions discarded their collections. His Meroë material did not fare well either as it had not been removed prior to the attack. The cast of the head of Augustus was lost and so was the Meröitic stele cast. Apparently none of the Meroë vessels survived either. The Government War Damage Insurance assessor only allowed for a maximum limit of £300 in compensation (UoL, GM, letter Tankard-Garstang 25th June, 1945). It was July 1947 before Garstang got the chance to see what the museum named his 'Hittite Collection' again (UoL, GM, letter Tankard-Garstang 25th July, 1947). By September he was pushing for a museum evaluation of all his artefacts to be placed on loan again (UoL, GM, letter Garstang-Tankard 15th December, 1947); this was confirmed that same year however without any plans for display (UoL, GM, letter Pinches-Garstang 3rd December, 1947).

By 1949, under the direction of Tankard, the museum was looking to augment the loss of collections sustained during the war. Recorded as Acc. no. 49.47-Archaeology, with no specific number of specimens or descriptions, Garstang's 'Hittite Collection' was accessioned with the source of purchase recorded as "Prof. J. Garstang, 12 Hampstead Way, London, N.W.11, costing £600 with War Damaged

claims suspended" (NML, Antiquities coll., Liverpool Museum Accessions Register 1928-1959).

Garstang was not extensively involved in the curation of the 1931 displays, or the catalogue with Vaughan, and did not provide further archaeological details when the collection was sold in 1949, which suggests that the museum did not require much archaeological detail to fulfil the public edification purposes it catered for. Garstang had incrementally deposited his miscellaneous 'Hittite' collection at the public museum since 1911 (NML, Antiquities coll., Stock Book – Mayer Museum, 1906-1912, pg. 156) with the exception of his Anatolian seals collection which he had acquired legitimately with the approval of the director of the Ottoman Imperial Museums, Osman Hamdi Bey (UoL, GM, letter Pears-Garstang 1908-1909) and removed from the Liverpool Public Museum in 1929 (NML, Antiquities coll., Hittite collection gallery reference cards, 1929). The museum took plaster cast impressions of this collection; unfortunately the originals have never been located despite best efforts.

4.12: Conclusion

It appears that there was a socio-anthropological blindness within public institutions when addressing the inextricable relationship between educational and social standards and the correlating aspirations these engendered. The underlying presupposition that the government and ruling classes wished to replace the 'civilizing' effects of religion for increasingly disaffected congregations, especially as the number of public houses increased, with the 'civilising' effects of culture is well known (Hill, 2005; Woodson-Boulton, 2012). However, as extrapolated by Bourdieu, a high educational standard is the chief determinant for art and museum visitors, regardless of economic, age and gender variables (Bourdieu & Darbel, 2008). It follows then that at the beginning of the 20th century, as the common influence of Christianity decreased, enculturation was a flawed replacement as it fundamentally appealed only to the social classes who already subscribed to the very values it sought to promote. The Liverpool Public Museum was very successful at attracting the lower class demographic groups however the complaints

engendered by this very achievement disclose class divides that went far deeper into the Edwardian inherited socio-psychological make-up than the social drive for middle class stewardship for social improvement and the advancement of the lower demographics. Provincial museums, both through their exterior architecture and internal layout, represented British middle class achievements and their place in society. The aspects discussed in this chapter further point out the different roles played by museum and university. The museum supported general knowledge in parameters which reflected themes familiar to the average visitor, confirming the place they held in society as well as reinforcing criteria of common cultural identity and conformity.

Chapter Five: Renegotiations of Hittite heritage in Turkey, 1900 – 1947

> "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist."

Ernest Gellner (1964, p. 169)

Introduction

This following chapter explores the negotiation and application of Hittite archaeology in Turkey during the establishment of the Kemâlist Republic, headed by Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk, during the 1920s, as part of a democratic nationalisation programme. This study provides the contrast to the perceptions and applied negotiations of British imperialism portrayed through the display of Garstang's Hittite archaeology collection in Liverpool, as discussed above. Here I focus primarily on postcolonial interpretations of selected aspects of political decisions and cultural reformations by the Cumhüriyet Halk Partisi (CHP - Republican People's Party) which utilised heritage, history and archaeology as the basis of a sustained united national identity, indelibly marking them as implements of politics. This chapter marks the third and final phase of Garstang's career in knowledge discovery, conservation and reattribution which commenced the establishment of foreign institutes of archaeology and museums (i.e. Palestine and Turkey) as a method of preserving and restoring ownership of artefacts and knowledge to the local rightful nations.

As support for the British imperial system dramatically waned during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, concurrently the Ottoman Empire was being decisively deconstructed by the rising politically-minded and European-educated Turkish middle class (Göçek, 1996). The architecture and contents of British public institutions such as the Liverpool Public Museum promoted a local homogenised British identity along with themes of knowledge colonisation (Chapter Four). Similarly, following the removal of Ottoman rule, the Kemâlist republican government, as it was also known, implemented a programme of nationalisation

aimed at the native population through the collection of archaeological artefacts and a renegotiated interpretation for the creation of a united national heritage.

Political theories of ownership based upon Hittite archaeology were presented by the Kemâlists, to attain territorial control, autonomous government, and a consolidated socio-political framework for their nation. These archaeological theses of territorial inheritance concerning the Hittites were directly derived from the publications of Archibald Sayce and John Garstang. Osman Hamdi Bey was Garstang's Ottoman contact in Istanbul as he excavated at Sakçagözü. He was also the Europeanised first director of the Imperial Ottoman Museum. He was responsible for the issue of excavation permits, permissions of artefact exports and held strong links with academic institutes in Europe and America. Halil Ehdem Bey followed his brother as director at a time when Turkish archaeology ceased to be a source of colonial knowledge collection for European imperial agents.

History and archaeology were recognised as powerful international socio-political forces by the reformist CHP (People's Republican Party). They established local archaeology museums and public imagery promoting a unified and homogeneous Turkish heritage in a bid for self-colonisation.

The following discussion explores specific political aspects of Kemâlist government reformation policies for self-colonisation based upon Western Enlightenment beliefs. These utilised Hittite archaeology as defined earlier by Western academics. The CHP presented their interpretation of a Hittite cultural inheritance to European nations and I will here portray how Turkey gained control both over a geographical territory but also over a culturally disparate people following the loss of the unifying label of 'Ottoman'. There are parallels with Britain here too: as the British nation lost Christianity as a leading social civilizing element, British imperialism was similarly projected through education and museums and effectively imposed as a replacement for a united identity to live up to. Garstang, as an archaeologist acting within academic and political circles in Britain and Turkey, experienced these aspects of socio-political reform in both the Occident and the Orient.

Postcolonialism is necessarily a discussion of politics from a theoretical perspective drawing on the Marxist tradition of anti-imperial critique (Ghandi, 2011, p. 27). Though not exclusively so, in this case discourse is applied to a variety of contexts and purposes regardless of its academic source. The following chapter explores the political role played by archaeology, heritage and the incipient museums sector that was starting to appear during the early Turkish Republican period (1920-1940s) from a postcolonial stance.

Museums were fundamental to the complex and multi-layered transformation of Turkey's political regime, national self-perception, and the positioning of itself within the Western world. This chapter proposes that this was achieved by adapting a European political philosophy framework to transform what was a geographically and culturally varied remnants of the Ottoman Empire into a single, self-defining democratic, secular and 'modernised' (i.e. westernised) Turkish Republic, headed by the CHP in 1923. This investigation demonstrates that to this end the state used Hittite Anatolian archaeology as the pivotal iconic and territorial tool at the heart of its museums agenda.

The archaeological territorial thesis that allowed the Kemâlists to achieve nationhood through the Lausanne Treaty (1923) was that proposed by the British Oriental archaeologists William Wright and Archibald Sayce (Garstang's Oxford mentor) in 1884 *(The Hittite Empire*) and John Garstang's geographical mapping of recognised Hittite sites in Turkey and Northern Syria (1910; 1929).

The chapter concludes with a comparative discussion of the imperialist and colonial epistemological commonality between the socio-political metanarratives of the museums of Britain and Turkey during the period in which John Garstang's 'Hittite Collection' gallery was open at the Liverpool Public Museum.

5.1: A European-Kemâlist nationalistic political reformation process

The Kemâlist socio-political republican variant was adopted from 19th century Germanic Romantic ideas of national homogeneity requiring a common language, history culture and race (Yong, 2003, pp. 61-2). This approach worked well initially and a common sense of solidarity was achieved in order to expel foreign colonialist

presence and partitioning (i.e. the British, French, Italian) (image 5.1). Once this was repelled it became more problematic to impose and maintain such a homogeneous national identity through state control due to the variety of cultures, faiths and heritage which demanded acknowledgement within the bounds of the new Turkish state. As discussed in Chapter Two, during the late Ottoman period, Germany held sway over the field of archaeological exploration in Anatolia.

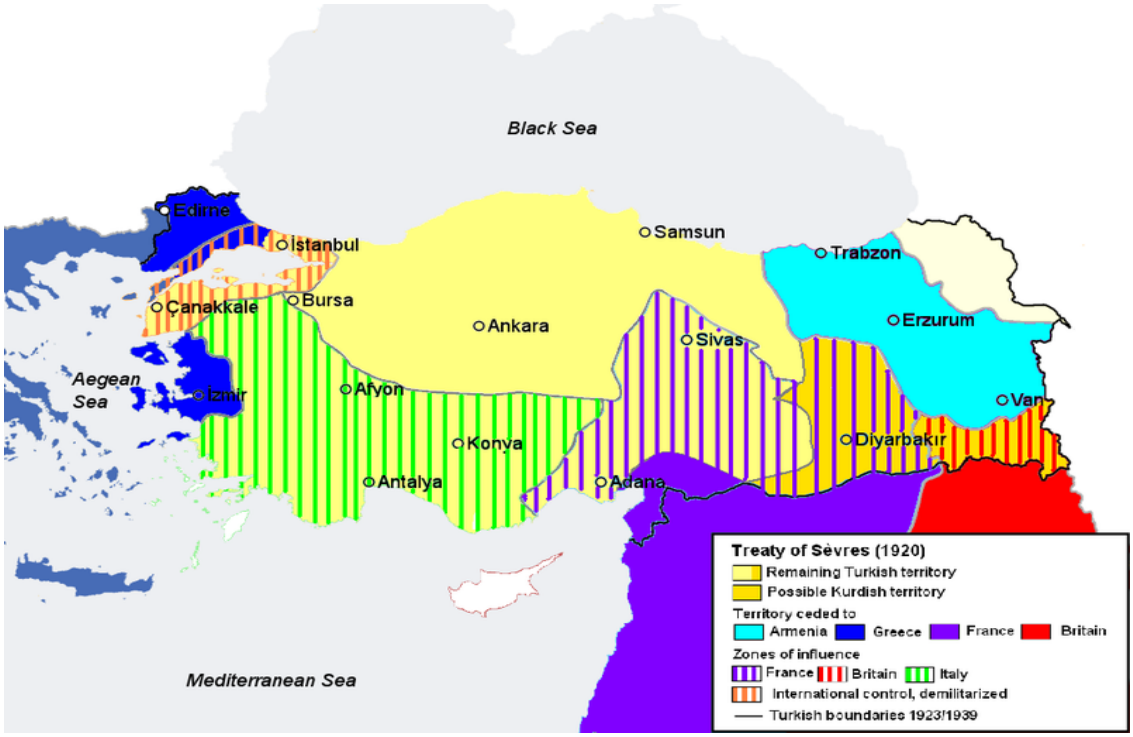


Image 5.1: Map illustrating the Allied partitioning of the Ottoman territories according to the Treaty of Sévres (1920) (Courtesy of Str1977, 2007 online)

These early alliances in turn led to the later portrayal of Turkey as a persistent non-Christian 'Oriental other' in the West as leverage by Britain and America for political purposes during the run up to WWII as alliances were forged for the coming conflict (see Appendix Twelve).

In addition to close political relations with Germany, the leaders of the Kemâlist government sought to emulate a European democratic political model with which it was familiar through the middle class European education its members had received (Wallerstein, 1991, pp. 91-106). They had been educated in Paris and Berlin during the time of Charles Maurras (1868 – 1952) at universities that had promoted philosophies of nationhood above all (Rémond, 2006, p. 8). Popular

interpretations of Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche's (1844- 1900) ideals of 'Übermensch', as laid out in *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* (1882) in his book *Also sprach Zarathustra: Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen* (2006), while effectively ignoring his *Über Wahrheit und Lüge im außermoralischen Sinn* in his other publication *Die Geburt der Tragödie, Oder: Griechentum und Pessimismus* (Nietzsche, 1999), were adopted. The Kemâlist party was made up of members of the socially, economically and politically favoured who envisaged modernity as a process of westernisation that required disengagement from the Ottoman-Islamic tradition (Yavuz, 2007, p. 27).

The Kemâlist ideology of nationhood led to the "Six Arrows" of the CHP (Republican People's Party). Each of these 'arrows' represented republicanism, nationalism, populism, secularity, statism and revolutionism with the aim of upholding a unified new national identity above all (Ersanlı, 2006, p. 105).

Here I wish to put forward a postcolonial understanding of the role that archaeology played within the Kemâlist movement. I touch upon the various aspects of the historical context, the sectors of society that the new nationalist regime applied to, and the archaeological symbols used to implement it. The latter is mostly pertinent since I believe that later postcolonialist theorists (e.g. Bhabha) tend to limit themselves to a purely theoretical realm which, in turn, somewhat obfuscates discourse when applied to specific case studies. Bhabha's various theoretical strands can appear to merge one into the other with equal degrees of disconnection when applied to worked examples of historico-political situations (2007, p. 187).

There is a crucial difference between Western colonisation and internal Kemâlist self-westernising 'colonisation'. Apart from the obvious self-administered *modus operandi*, in Western colonialism a degree of autonomy by the colonised was always allowed to appear, no matter how superficial. This was not something that was allowed within Kemâlist Turkey. Initially attempts (1924-30) were made for a democratic opposition representation in government (e.g. Progressive Republican Party, 1924-30) (Mango, 2004, pp. 130, 418) however the political instability a

multi-party system allowed at this point made Atatürk revert to a single-party presidential position, enforcing the *Tanzimat* and dissolving the government opposition. Anything that allowed past cultural connections to linger in any form was forcefully removed. Foucault's theory of 'representable materiality' (2008, pp. 23-79) and Derrida's 'iterability and difference' (2001, p. 29) were allowed for within Western colonial edicts, however inherited icons and notions of an Ottoman identity were to be eradicated in Kemâlist Turkey denying any possibility of a representable social difference. Essentially the problem of transcribing a new discourse of identity from one governing regime to the other in Turkey should not have arisen since the new force was a local Anatolian government. However the political philosophies that the Kemâlists imposed were so culturally alien to the preceding Ottomans' national consciousness (which was made up of myriad ethnicities) that a problem with the repeatability of this nation-unifying materiality could not fail to emerge (Bhabha, 2007, pp. 28-56).

Official Turkish history states that Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk generated the first cells of resistance support against the Allied occupation from within Anatolia (Evans, 1982, p. 18). Meanwhile historian Erik Zürcher writes that in fact Atatürk was chosen as leader of this resistance movement created by the Karakol, a secret society formed by Unionists Mehmed Talat and Enver Paşa in 1918. Their role was to protect Muslim Unionists from Christian and Allied entities by relocating to Anatolia and enforcing 'Turkification' (1984, p. 84). In June 1919 Atatürk, Rauf Orbay, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Refat Bele and Kâzım Karabekir each represented a military district in Anatolia and established the strategy of national movement against foreign occupation based upon the Unionist Young Turk nationalist discourse (Toynbee and Kirkwood, 1926, p. 87). The resulting declaration formed the basis of the National Pact (*Misak-i Milli*) of 1920 (VanderLippe, 2005, pp. 12-3). British military forces were dispatched from Istanbul to deal with Atatürk's party and in May, 1920 Atatürk and his nationalist military party were sentenced to death (Evans, 1982, p. 36).

The National Pact of February 1920 conceptualised a national Turkish state and established the political intentions of the War of National Liberation by the

provisional government *Büyük Millet Meclisi* made up of the Kemâlist resistance movement (Toynbee and Kirkwood, 1926, pp. 84-8). Primarily the pact defined the geographic boundaries of the Turkish nation (*millet)* to be defended by nationalist military forces seeking ethno-religious nationalism. The Turkish nation was defined as a Muslim resident of Anatolia and Thrace. This excluded the Caucasus, central Asia, the Balkans, Kurds or other non-Muslim ethnicities who were non-Muslims, wore traditional clothing or did not fully integrate with "true" Turks and in the process completely relinquished their native inherited identity (Yavuz, 2007, p. 26).

Finally the National Pact imposed a policy of national unity and equality in this National Struggle (VanderLippe, 2005, p. 13). These goals included achieving a completely Anatolian Turkish independent status with no compromises allowing for previous Ottoman circumstances. These parameters made the European Treaty of Sévres (1920) redundant (Erimtan, 2008, p. 149) and negotiations had to be reopened at Lausanne in 1923. Zürcher argues that the founding aims of the resistance movement were to liberate the Muslim Ottomanised (*Osmanlilik)* people from Western and Ottoman influence. Secular linguistic nationalism for a westernised (non-Ottoman) Turkish nation was enforced following the official recognition of governmental sovereignty at the Grand National Assembly in 1922 led by Atatürk (Gonlübol, 1982; Zürcher, 2000, p. 59).

The idea of nationhood as a homogenised identity marker is a creation of Western industrialised society (Kushner, 1997, p. 219). Atatürk applied this idea to a demographically heterogeneous landmass which had previously been grouped together under the name of Ottoman, but now would be Turkey. Being called Turkish during the Ottoman Imperial rule was not particularly meaningful and was construed as derogatory (Zürcher, 2000, pp. 58-9). Now "Turkey" and "Turkish" meant something so fundamentally and positively strong that it was intended to unite everyone, regardless of educational or social standing, ethnicity, language, faith, or heritage, to definitively dispel the previous legacy. Everyone was to find that they were a united Turkish people historically, territorially and culturally, with a common national history underpinned by an archaeology that would consolidate the nation's significance internationally (Derrida, 1984; Eriksen, 2010, p. 125;

Atakuman, 2008, p. 216). Atatürk's public rhetoric defined this totalitarian stance and revealed its French revolutionary roots (Vivian, 2007, p. 379):

Atatürk's address to the Turkish Youth of October 1927:

"This holy treasure [*Turkish Republic*] I lay in the hands of the youth of Turkey.

O Turkish Youth! Your first duty is ever to preserve and defend the National independence; the Turkish Republic. That is the only basis of your existence and your future. This basis contains your most precious treasure. In the future, too, there will be ill-will, both in the country itself and abroad, which will try to tear this treasure from you. If one day you are compelled to defend your independence and the Republic, then, in order to fulfil your duty, you will have to look beyond the possibilities and conditions in which you might find yourself. It may be that these conditions and possibilities are altogether unfavourable. It may be that the enemies who desire to destroy your independence and your Republic represent the strongest force that the earth has ever seen; that they have through craft and force, taken possession of all the fortresses and arsenals of the Fatherland; that all its armies are scattered and the country actually and completely occupied.

Assuming, in order to look still darker possibilities in the face, that those who hold the power of Government within the country have fallen into error, that they are fools or traitors, yes, even that these leading persons may identify their personal interests with the enemy's political goals, it might happen that the nation came into complete privation, into the most extreme distress; that it found itself in a condition of ruin and complete exhaustion.

Even under those circumstances, O Turkish child of future generations! It is your duty to save the independence, the Turkish Republic.

The strength that you will need for this is mighty in the noble blood which flows in your veins."

M.K. Atatürk from "The Speech", October 20, 1927

5.2: A unified Turkish history as demarcated by Western academics

This section explores the extensive presence and use of European theories of archaeology, and political methodologies of nationality and secularisation as applied by the CHP to both regain their geographical territory from the Allies and to recreate a homogenised and secularised Turkish nation. The Turkish Historical

Association (est. 1931) was charged with putting together a definitive Turkish history that would provide identity, nationhood, homogenisation of tribes and legitimate ancestral claim to the Turkish territories following the guidance of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points (1918) for peace negotiations. An association between native territory and national autonomic rights under the protection of the League of Nations was sought (Erimtan, 2008, p. 142). This homogenizing approach was all that stood between Turkish nationalism and European colonialism.

Atatürk's provisional government published a thesis of Turkish legacy based upon the book *Pontus Meselesi,* published by a year prior to the Treaty of Lausanne during which the Republic of Turkey was established in 1923. The *Pontus Meselesi* was written by Ağaoğlu Ahmed Bey who was the unionist president of the Turkish Hearths movement established during the last years of Ottoman rule. He was a disciple of Ernest Renan (1823-1892) as a student at the Sorbonne in Paris (Shissler, 2003, p. 71). During the 1920s Ahmed Bey was a close advisor to Atatürk and acted as Directorate General of Press and Information in Ankara (Bertram, 2008, p. 277). The *Pontus Meselesi* is now considered a 'geo-text', defined as a document which represents territories and populations (Kaplan, 2004). It was used as an interpretation of history to justify political actions. The name *Pontus* explicitly refers to ancient history when *Pontus* denoted a kingdom along the southern coast of the Black Sea claimed after the death of Alexander the Great (301BC). This region flourished under Mithradates Eupator (ca. 131-63 BC), it later became the Roman province of Pontus (under the rule of Pompey in 66 BC) with Galatia as its prosperous neighbour (Erimtan, 2008, p. 151). The first city of Galatia, where Alexander dedicated a temple to his own achievements was later named Ánkyra by the Pontus Hellenics (c. 333BC) (Lloyd, 1986, p. 119). This site was to become modern Ankara. This is not the only instance where Atatürk linked his legacy with that of the preeminent Hellenic emperor. No political decision of ideology, nominal or practical, was taken without underpinning it with this newly generated communal antiquity linking with Western historicity. Essentially Garstang, as an informal British information collector interested in the undefined Hittite geography, indirectly contributed to the political geo-text when he initialised his mapping of

Hittite sites to validate the history of the Anatolian Hittite Empire. This information was first published in 1910 and revised in his publication *The Hittite Empire* (image 5.2*)* (Garstang, 1929).

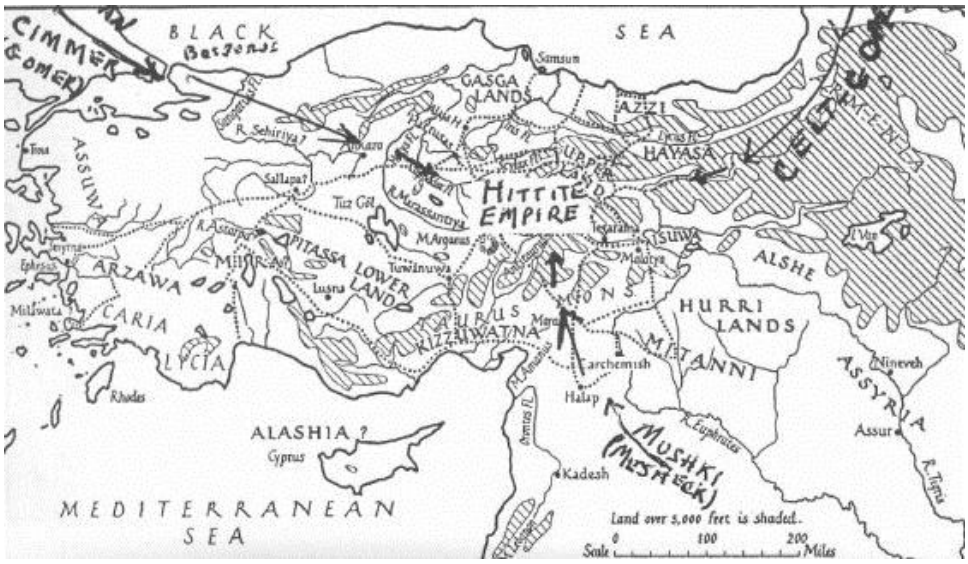


Image 5.2: Map of the Anatolian Hittite Empire (Garstang, 1929)

After 1923 the Kemâlists enforced secularisation upon a staunchly Islamic pan-Turkic region and Hittite history and archaeology would come to replace religion as the unifying identity for this new nationality. This followed perfectly in the political philosophical tradition of Renan that religion and state should be separate entities and one should utilise history as the national basis for commonality (1994, pp. 17-8).

A European archaeological understanding of an Anatolian Hittite empire was to be the basis of a new heterogeneous history of contending ethnicities. Prof. Henry Sayce, as early as 1880, had stated his belief that "Carchemish was a centre from which the art, the religion, and the civilisation of the East may have been carried through Asia Minor to the Aegean, and then to Greece. Its inhabitants could further boast of belonging to a race which had achieved what it has been granted to but few to achieve – the invention of a system of writing." He continued "[*t*]here is much in the art of early Greece, more especially as displayed in objects lately found at Mycenae and elsewhere, which cannot be derived from a Phoenician source, and it is just this element which resembles the Hittite art of Asia Minor. The old legends which brought Pelops and his riches from the banks of the Paetolus had, after all, a

grain of truth at their bottom. The germs of Greek art may have all come from Assyria; [...]" (Sayce, 1880).

This early attribution of Western artistic development to the Hittites was expanded upon in William Wright and Archibald Sayce's *The Empire of the Hittites* (1884) which appeared to place the Hittites as the historical forebears of the Turks. Ahmed Bey's *Pontus Meselesi* was largely based upon this and the discoveries made by Charles Texier and Georges Perrot in 1861 (Perrot & Chipiez, 1892) at Boğazköy by Theodor Makridi Bey (Ottoman leading archaeologist who omitted crediting the involvement of the *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft)* to portray the Hittites as a Turkish global influence (Erimtan, 2008, p. 158). He appeared unaware that in 1915 Friedrich Hrozny had deciphered the Hittite language and identified it as an Indo-Germanic one (now called Indo-European) (Hrozny, 1915). Such theories were also seized upon by Kemâlists Hasan Cemil Çambel and Yusuf Ziya Özer who stated that metalwork was invented by the Hittites in Altai and that Turkish was the mother of all Arian and Semitic languages (Çambel, 1932, p. 201; Özer, 1932, p. 246). Archaeology, as a Western discipline, was therefore the perfect medium through which these premises of ethnic European belonging could appear to gain credibility.

5.3: Atatürk's interpretation of Western republican democracy

Atatürk may have felt it was enough to implement a democratic structure to make these ideals permeate his new nation and convince the West of his serious democratic intentions. However, there is a sense in which the Turkish formulation of democracy of 1928 was a mere cosmetic veneer, even in the upper echelons of Westernised Turkish society. Here I consider methods of implementation of particular aspects of this democratisation and the degree of acceptance by particular sectors of Turkish society.

As President and titular head of the Popular Party, Atatürk had permitted Ali Fethi Okyar (1880-1943) to form a Liberal Republican Parliamentary Opposition. This was only a political pacing system for the Popular Party and the cabinet. A similar opposition party, the Progressive Republican Party (Terakkiperver Cumhüriyet Fırkasi), had been formed in 1924 and lasted seven months. Once the opposition's

policies diverged from those of Atatürk and gained any degree of popularity the party was shut down and leaders imprisoned (Weiner & Özbudun, 1987, p. 337). By 1927 it was clear that this symbolic opposition party strategy had failed. Persistent civil unrest (e.g. the Smyrna plot, 1926a) forced Atatürk to resume his commanding role within the Kemâlist Popular Party whilst the Progressive Party was dissolved.

Following his experience on a national tour he implemented direct control upon the National Assembly containing 240 Kemâlist members and 30 members of the Progressive Opposition Party. His rule was described as dictatorial – 'Dictatorship of the Ghazi", "ruthless", and "the Ghazi is to Turkey what Signor Mussolini is to Italy" by British newspapers (*The Times*, 1926b). These measures were deemed positive following the bloody breakouts of discontent in rural Aegean Turkey (e.g. the Menemen Incident of 1930) against state secularisation (Ayşe, 1996). Forced democratisation was being assumed at an accelerated pace in Ankara however the rest of the nation was finding it hard to keep up. Not only had the religious apparatus of the Ottoman state as unifier of cultures been dismantled, the new government also endorsed a Western method of measuring time through the Gregorian calendar, implemented metric weights and measures, made surnames compulsory, reformed dress codes, language, music (Tekelioğlu, 2001) and interjected into every expression of cultural identity (Stokes, 1992, p. 24). They penetrated into the lifestyles, manners, behaviour and daily customs of all people (Göle, 1997, p. 69). Political discontent had been precipitated by a local economy undermined by cheap imports of Russian wheat, coal and raw materials. This left rural Turkey in unmonitored discontent, especially since the system of wholly centralised administration and reformation had not addressed the underpaid local officials and their lacklustre allegiance to an unknown central government and system whose concerns and influence resided in the main cities of Istanbul and Ankara.

This is a typical colonial characteristic of the ruling classes being based within urbanised metropoles, yet expecting to influence the furthest reaches of their intended territory without any real presence or understanding. A clear case of this

detachment between urban and rural during the reformation is evident with the compulsory westernisation of clothing. Unlike many other colonising situations the Kemâlist programme addressed the reformulation of male dress codes, both civilian and military, rather than female as the objectified symbol of the native (mother) nation (Chehabi, 2004, pp. 215-6). This is not because the Kemâlists were not aware of this power; in fact they addressed it by improving female equality and education immensely. This was because the ex-Ottoman urban Turkish family structure was patriarchal and urban middle class women's fashion was already virtually indistinguishable from their counterparts in Paris and London, unlike men's clothing which tended to be traditional and thus symbolise their unwavering authority from one generation to the next. This scenario, where urbanised women of socially élite backgrounds dressed in European fashions were commonly depicted in Osman Hamdi Bey's paintings (e.g. *Women Taking a Walk*, 1887; *At the Mosque Door*, 1891; *Girl arranging a Vase,*1881; *Women at the Door of the Mosque*, 1883), suggests that Atatürk found no need to address female dress codes. These urbanised women were often depicted in juxtaposition with secondary female figures dressed in the Ottoman traditional dress of the poorer and rural demographic, highlighting the difference between the 'civilised' (i.e. westernised) Turkish middle class and their less educated rural working class counterparts.

Furthermore, in various photographs Hamdi Bey's female family members were always seen wearing the latest European fashions as a symbolism of their status and education (images 5.3). According to Pears (1916, p. 212) Hamdi Bey brought this early duality of westernisation and Orientalism into his own home where the reception rooms were appointed in the latest Parisian interior designs while the more private rooms were exclusively done up in Ottoman styles, indicating the way middle class Turkey was already wishing to appear to the outside progressive world. This differentiation, defined through material ostentation within domestic homes to delineate the public reception rooms from the comfortable private rooms, was revived through 18th century European middle class society that appeared with the success of capitalism and mass production (Göçek, 1996, pp. 99-100). France, mostly Parisian society, became the leader in all things fashionable, sophisticated

and desirable in the eyes of the fast expanding European middle classes. Britain contributed to the acceleration and attainability of this 'cult of lifestyle' through the establishment of mass-produced and affordable materiality which, through its extensive imperial trade links it exported worldwide (Göçek, 1996, p. 5).

Images 5.3: L Hamdi Bey in Western clothing (Istanbul) (http://www.mucadele.com.tr/haber/aydin/osman-hamdi-beyin-eserleri-turkiyeye-tasiniyor/24132); R: Hamdi Bey in Ottoman costume (Vienna, 1873) (www.eslam.de/bildergalerien/o/osman_hamdi_bey/osman_hamdi_bey_bildergalerie04.jpg)

Despite these difficulties in homogenizing such a multitude of cultures and the acknowledgment of his heavy handed methods, Atatürk was approved of by the European press for taking full control of what appeared to be a disintegrating 'Oriental' nation and proving that he still held enough popularity to maintain his position in Turkey (*The Times, 1931*). This was of paramount military and strategic importance for Britain in the years prior to WWII.

5.4: Turkey between West and East

Point Fourteen

> A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

(Wilson, 1918)

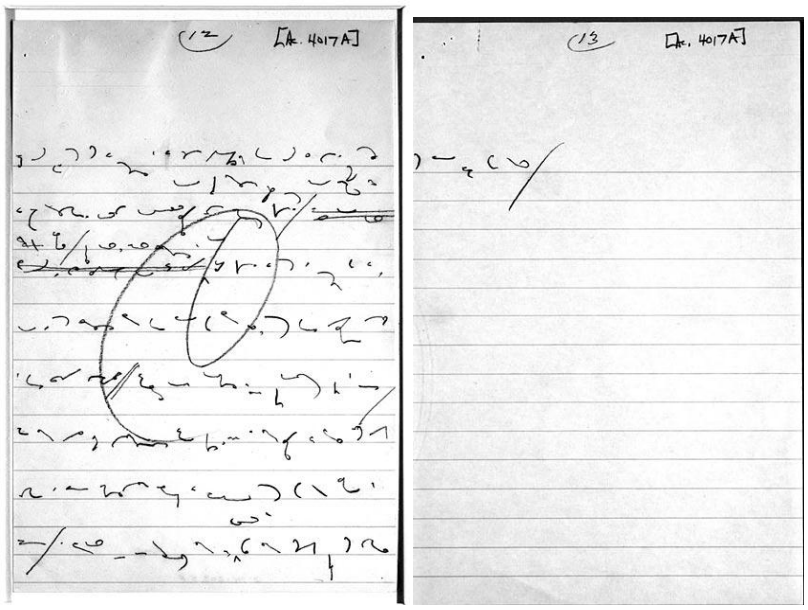


Image 5.4: Woodrow Wilson's draft of his speech at Point Fourteen (Refs: Page 12: http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/images/s59.4p12.jpg and Page 13: http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/images/s59.4p13.jpg)

In his role of *Ghazi* (military leader) Atatürk chose to personally address international political relations for his government. The following section will look at the political position and resultant strategies and negotiations on an international scale leading up to Atatürk's full recovery of Turkish territories.

A main foreign policy achievement was ratified through the 1928 Briand-Kellog Pact. Through this he gained membership to the League of Nations for Turkey and thus solved the Mosul-Iraq Question with Britain. His government had found difficulties with the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) which they solved by removing almost all Ottoman public institutions including the Caliphate (1924) and Sultanate (1922), Islamic Law, Arabic script and the Ottoman educational system (Göl, 1943, p. 58) over a period of five years, despite their earlier claims of Ottoman/Muslim preservation. This was a systematic cleansing of the 'oriental' heritage, as the West perceived it, in a bid for European cultural alignment.

The Straits Conference at Montreux which took place in July 1936 dealt with the control of the Bosphorus Straits and Dardanelles being transferred to Turkey from Allied control (White, 1936).. This convention was covered positively by British newspapers despite having lost military access rights to the Black Sea to Russia in the process. *The Times* (1936) reported that "on this point of [Turkish]

remilitarization [of the Straits] all are of one mind, the universal feeling being that Turkey should be gracefully conceded that which she cannot be denied,[...]" . This benevolent view was sustained by the West when the Treaty of Mutual Assistance was signed in October 1939 (Hurewitz, 1979). It was understood that this was due to Atatürk's continual resistance to any revival of pro-Ottoman, pan-Turanianism, as a union of Turks, Turcomans, Tartars, Magyars, Finns, and Siberian, Mongolian and Manchurian tribes (Stoddard and Lothrop, 1917, p. 16), or pan-Islamic developments in return for the provision of British-French credit of £25 million for the purchase of military equipment in Britain and France, as well as other financial arrangements for the benefit of Turkey (Davison, 1988, p. 142; Hurewitz, 1979, pp. 548-9).

The Montreux convention had been precipitated by Germany through its violation of the Versailles (1919) and Locarno (1925) convention agreements by remilitarizing the Rhineland. Turkey was supported on the condition of reciprocal military assurances with Europe, the Balkans and Japan (Howard, 1936, p. 199). Only Germany and Italy declined to be included. The Turkish remilitarisation of the Straits was allowed as long as they maintained their state of political neutrality as a buffer between Russia, belligerent powers (i.e. Germany and Austria), and the Allied Powers in the Mediterranean *(The Times, 1936a*). Atatürk recognised the importance his nation would hold in the very near future for Western Europe and he pushed his advantage.

Atatürk's main argument as to which territories should be reassigned to Turkey was made on the grounds of historical ethnic inheritance. During a *Kamutay Toplantısı* (Turkish Grand National Assembly speech) following a visit of King Edward VIII in November 1936 Atatürk addressed issues of national occupation of the Alexandretta region and Antioch which he claimed were ethnically purely Turkish. Atatürk sustained this strategy of maintaining pressure on two fronts: on one side for the exclusion of all foreign presence in Turkey and on the other the inclusion of as many surrounding territories into the new Turkish national territory as he could justify. France finally ceded Alexandretta to Turkey in 1939; thus Atatürk had solved all his territorial grievances with France and Britain (Hurewitz, 1979, p. 546).

5.5: Kemâlist politics on the home front

There were uprisings, especially in localities further away from Atatürk's political grasp but his public speeches allowed for no political directional ambivalence. He always referred to the past as negative, weak and deceased (i.e. Ottoman) while urging towards a different homogenous, modern, secular, and therefore 'civilized' nation. This type of rhetoric projected homogeneity upon the undeniable internal discourses of suppressed minorities (Culler, 1982, pp. 110-33). The Kemâlists knew that their hold over Turkey was precarious given the interest of various foreign powers in the region. They could only maintain the justification of ownership by portraying their nation as solidly united under one collaborative and Westernised leader. Atatürk's main concern was now to convince this diverse nation that they were, in effect Turkish through a common ancestry, and to behave accordingly. The *Turkish History Thesis* (*Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları*) which was largely based upon Wright and Sayce's 1884 publication and Garstang's 1929 Hittite Empire map, provided the new regime with contextual identity and as Atatürk stated, knowing one's history was as important as making it. The Turkish History Society wrote warmly of Garstang's work in Turkey, published in the 1956 *Journal of Anatolian Studies* special commemoration issue (1956a, p. 30).

The thesis was put together by the Turkish Historical Research Society (est. 1930) which was the only branch which survived the disbanding of the Ottoman Turkish Hearths movement (est. 1911). The Turkish History Association also established the Turkish Linguistic Research Society (Atakuman, 2008, p. 218). It was politically essential that Turkey and the Turks were to be seen as central to the development of civilized (i.e. Western) culture. Prior to the *History Thesis* Turks were defined as a yellow race by European academia (Kuru & Stepan, 2013, p. 51). This was enough for Turks to be considered an uncivilized nation, and therefore not secure unless a colonial (i.e. civilizing) power was in place. This perception is what Atatürk was changing when he took hold of Turkey from both the Ottomans and the Allies in 1923.

5.6: Kemâlist colonialism through history, language, and education

History and archaeology were used as nationalist rhetoric in the new Kemâlist Turkish state. Through this new historical epistemology, two pillars of cultural identity (language) and its preservation (education) were radicalised. Atatürk's *Turkish History Thesis* was made official government doctrine following the first congress of the Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu) of 1932 and became the basis of Kemâlism (Atatürkçülük) (Atakuman, 2008, p. 220). The Kemâlist historians and officials of the Turkish Historical and Language Society used the army, education, media and art to redefine and consolidate this new Turkish identity (Yavuz, 2007, p. 26). This section focuses mainly upon the role of history, linguistics and education for this purpose, as all three methodological aspects were fundamentally entrenched in the premise of a continuous Hittite archaeological heritage. Atatürk stressed the importance of new generations perceiving their world from a solely non-Islamic Turkish perspective, truncating the inherited legacy of parent from child and making the state directly responsible for the upbringing of a whole generation (est. 1926), with Kemâl Atatürk as the official patriarchal leader as 'Father of Turks'.

New information was to be sought from local archaeology, anthropology, geology and linguistics which defined a common Turkish heritage (Shaw, 2004, p. 133). This mirrored a similar methodology devised by Britain to archive state controlled knowledge for the purpose of claiming 'ownership' as a form of Neo-colonisation (see Chapter Three). Atatürk's congress had been supported by his adopted daughter, a history teacher, Ayşe Âfet İnan (1908-1985), as well as other local historians and foreign representatives. The *Thesis* argued that through periodic migrations from Central Asia the Turks had introduced civilization to various Western locations since it was where civilization was introduced to humanity (TTAH, 1930, p. 49). Anatolia was subsequently named as the original Turkish homeland, a people who at one time called themselves *Eti* (Hittites) (TTAH, 1930, pp. 59-60). Archaeology was to prove it through a number of state-led excavations commencing in 1933. These reforms were thought out along the lines of hyperdiffusionism, a group of hypothesis which appeared during the late 1920s,

introduced by Sir Grafton Elliot Smith (Crook, 2012, p. 19). To varying degrees these theories stated that one civilization or people is the creator of all logical knowledge which was then diffused to less civilized nations. Thus, all great civilizations that share similar cultural practices are derived from the same ancient nation (Fagan, 2006, pp. 362-7). These diffusionist theories, based upon what is now considered pseudoarchaeological treatises, were roundly discredited by scholars such as Glyn Daniel during the 1970s (Williams, 1991, p. 12; Fagan, 2006, p. 74). Vere Gordon Childe, Garstang's supporter when establishing the BIA in Ankara (see section 2.7) was a moderate diffusionist (Rowland, pp. 37, 48-9).

Similarly the Ottoman historian Ahmed Vifik (1823-1891) had stated that the Ottomans' ancestors were a Turkish tribe from Central Asia (Vefik, 1869). This process of consolidation of nationhood had been initiated by the Ottoman Sultanate of Abdül Hamid II with the establishment of the Turkish Hearths movement in 1911. The emphasis at the time was upon the consolidation of state approved Hamidian Sunni Muslim theology which suppressed diverse Muslim variations such as the Shi'a and others within the Ottoman Empire (Shankland, 1999, p. 22). This was additionally done in the name of homogenised 'civilization', 'scholarship' and 'progress' (Deringil, 1999, p. 19). Essentially, the Kemâlists only diverged from the Ottoman unionist policies with regard to secularisation and a better social status for women (Jung & Piccoli, 2001, p. 61).

The Kemâlist government took care to make these changes appear politically and socially part of the *ancien régime* and thus legitimise the Kemâlist programme of nationalisation striving to regain and preserve the Turkish nation from the Western intruders (Gellner, 1983, p. 77; Deringil, 1999, p. 43; Atakuman, 2008, p. 216). As Edward Shils puts it 'one of the main reasons why what is given by the past is so widely accepted is that it permits life to move along lines set and anticipated from past experiences and thus subtly converts the anticipated into the inevitable and the inevitable into the acceptable' and even desirable (Shils, 1980, p. 198; Deringil, 1999, p. 43).

It appears that once again the inspiration for this thesis of Near Eastern ancestry was European. The Austrian orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856) wrote in 1835 that the Ottomans were descendants of a Central Asian Turkish tribe from an unspecified ancient time (Von de Hammer, 1835).

In 1924 *medreses* (Islamic theology schools) were abolished and secular state-school programmes were tailored to fit with national policies. History lessons postulated that all noteworthy people of the past were Turkish or had been civilized by Turks. Turkish was declared the original written language, somehow incorporating Egyptian hieroglyphs and Linear A cuneiform into this lineage (Lewis, 1999, p. 42). There is a parallel here with information held in universities and museums in Britain which presented collections and knowledge by the exclusive name of their British collector or author (e.g. the Elgin marbles). Thus, through titular substitution, they projected British identities and rights upon artefacts and bodies of knowledge sourced from abroad further promoting the imperial didactic of foreign ownership. This method achieved the same goal of common Turkish ownership over their heritage, cultures and lands through a substituted or inverted historicity distancing them from foreign influences.

The Ankara Faculty of Linguistics, History and Geography was established in 1935 to make appropriate nationalist education available to young Turkish students. Education is a way towards a nationalist identity and cultural transformation which is implemented through blanket government schools consolidating a sense of kinship from infancy upwards (Bourdieu and Darbel, 2008). Free adult education programmes were also put in place in Turkey (Erol, 2012, p. 39). Similarly in Britain, if less extreme, a homogenised sense of nationhood and heritage was encouraged by the state and made freely available in Britain through libraries, museums and galleries (see Chapter Three).

With careful tailoring, mass state education saturates society to the furthest borders directing kinship and loyalty as desired. Atatürk found that once the Ottoman identity was lost many disparate people did not have a strong allegiance to any particular political figurehead, and therefore were more malleable and

receptive to a new Turkish creed. Problems were encountered only with those who had never lost their original national allegiances and characteristics (e.g. Armenians, Greeks and Kurds). After all "there is no inclusion without exclusion" (Eriksen, 2010, p. 126). In return for the people's support Atatürk offered an infrastructure on a par with its Western neighbours.

Various national universities were also established. The formation of such academic institutions which classify, archive and monopolise information for the use of high ranking professionals (academics, authors, scientists and so on) for selective dissemination to the public is similar to the rush of universities opening in Britain at the turn of the 20th century (including Liverpool University) making the processing of new knowledge an exclusive and unquestionable source for the public.

The Turkish Language Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) was charged with affiliating the Turkish language with Indo-European ones to reinforce the Western heritage link. This became the Sun Language Theory and archaeology was used to support its premises. In 1935 the so-called 'solar disks', then referred to as the "Hittite sun", were excavated at Alacahöyük by Turkish archaeologists (Arık, 1937). The Sun-Language was touted as the 'mother language' and thus the 'solar disks/ Hittite sun' came to symbolise another pillar of self-colonisation and homogenous nationality.

The Sun Language theory was also based upon a European hypothesis. Prof. Max Müller had placed sun symbolism as the primary linking factor for primitive Aryan mythology (Müller, 1857) and thus the Alacahöyük 'solar disks' fitted with Pumpelly's (Pumpelly, 1905, p. 308) theory that the Sumerians of Anau (modern Turkmenistan) were linked with Anatolia. This created a hereditary continuity with the supposed autochthonous Anatolian Turks and with the Sumerians further south, who were already being recognized as the source of Western civilizations (Ceram, 1929). The 'Sun-Language Theory' went as far as stating that the Aryans were originally Turks (Aryan=Ari) as were the Celts (*Seltçuks*). Müller's thesis was further developed by George William Cox (b.1827-d.1902), a British historian at Trinity College Oxford, who went about applying Hellenic myths to idealisations of solar phenomena in his book 'Aryan Mythology' (Cox, 1870).

The Anatolian pre-Hittite solar disk also became the symbol of various establishments which identified strongly with the new regime. The state-run *Etibank* (Hittite Bank) opened in 1935 and adopted the solar disk symbol. This bank financed Turkish mining, and soon after, the national newspaper *Cumhuriyet Billetin* declared metallurgy and mining a Hittite invention. Other companies, such as the most common cigarette brand and biscuit manufactures, also took the solar disk as their emblem (Shaw, 2007, p. 184).

The solar disk became a national secular Turkish symbol of the Kemâlist ideology (Shaw, 2007, pp. 179, 180-6). Now removed from its original pre-Hittite uses, its archaeological context, and its intended anthropological and political narratives; it became a symbol of a united secular and Westernised Turkey.

5.7: Archaeological practice in Turkey

By the 1880s the Ottoman Empire had started to initiate its own archaeological excavations in collaboration with Europe. Until now archaeology had been looked upon as a peculiar hobby of Europeans. Antiquity laws were introduced in 1874, 1881 and 1906 as a national archaeological collection (1846) was established and site visits increased. However the Ottoman Empire followed the European fashion and adopted Hellenism as a modernisation blueprint for an emerging Pan-European identity (Shaw, 2004, p. 132). Here I explore how archaeology in Turkey was fully politicised and tailored to fit with the early Kemâlist rhetoric. After 1929 archaeology in Turkey was recognised as a powerful political tool but it stood inactive for a decade. The resources and energy were simply not available. By 1933 excavations commenced at the Hittite site of Ahlatlibel, under the guidance of the Director of Museums, Hamit Zübeyr Koşay. Koşay dug at Alacahöyük between 1934 and 1937 and interpreted his finds as evidence of Turkish human civilization in southern Russia, Sumer, Eurasia, and Central Asia (Koşay, 1943). A list of archaeological activity undertaken by the Turkish Historical Society was published in 1937 by İnan (1937) to further politicise archaeology (image 5.5). These sites were all from the Stone, Iron, Hittite and Phrygian periods as the Kemâlists had no use for any other evidence to support their premises. There was no interest in Classical

sites, and it was only in the 1950s, following the first defeat of the CHP and the election of the Demokrat Parti, that Hellenic, Roman or similar dated sites attracted any interest (Shaw, 2004, p. 133).

HARTA (MAP) : I

Romen rakkamları mütefekkir nisbetine göre Bölgeleri, Kerre içindeki rakkamlarda aynı çevre içinde Atropometrik ankete göre Antropolojik Bölgeleri göstermektedir.

Bu hartada görülecegi gibi II inci Tefekkür bölgesine ait 9 ve 10 cu antropolojik bölgeler birleştirilmiştir.

The Roman numerals show the intellectual regions, the figures in brockets shov the anthropological regions, according to the anthropometric enquiry made in the same regions.

The 9 th and the 10 th anthropological regions that correspond to the second regions are treated together.

Image 5.5: Map of Anatolian archaeological sites of 1937 (İnan, 1937, p. plt.I)

Wilson's 'Twelfth Point' (1918) dealt specifically with the Ottoman Empire and the Anatolian resistance. It stated that Anatolia would only be granted secure sovereignty as a nation if its population was guaranteed safety of life and livelihood. Anatolian Muslims interpreted this as a nationalist principle where this geographic region would constitute a nation when its inhabitants were culturally united (Erimtan, 2008, p. 148). This was quite a feat considering that Anatolia was also the Ottoman resettlement region for Kurds, Arabs, Lazes, Muslim Georgians, Greek Muslims, Albanians, Macedonian Muslims, Pomaks, Serbian and Bosnian Muslims, Tatars, Circassians, Abkhazes and Daghestains (Andrews, 1992).

The choice of sites was to provide archaeological evidence for Woodrow Wilson's 'Twelfth Point' which had been of crucial importance during the Treaty of Lausanne. Atatürk was portraying Anatolian Turks as a diaspora of the Ottoman Empire and the Allies. He could claim authentic rights to 'traditional' lands supported by

'traditional' ways which he was striving to identify through excavation (Lilley, 2006, p. 30).

A lack of support from the international archaeological and linguistic community for these Kemâlist theories pushed Turkish archaeologists into a dead-end. Atatürk died the year following the Second History Congress and this further weakened the Turkish ideological basis they sought (Atakuman, 2008, p. 230). Despite this, during the 1940s, and even in the present day, Turkish archaeologists are essentially preoccupied with Anatolian research and the origins of their collective ancestry (Redford and Ergin, 2010).

Through the narrative of Anatolian Hittite heritage Atatürk sought to unravel the Ottoman one by using this new creativity with Turkish history as the realm of political representation and signification that Bhabha refers to in his *The Postcolonial and the Postmodern* (2007). Radical revisions of the ontological symbolism are created and attributed so that emergent histories may be written (2007, p. 248). There is no clearer symbol of this than Atatürk's tomb itself – the Anıtkabir. The resultant politicised symbolism is publicly present throughout Turkey today (images 5.7 and 5.8).

Images 5.6aandb: l to r: Pre-Hittite 'solar disk' in bronze and Hittite 'Sun Disk in bronze as official symbol of Ankara (Refs.: L: http://1000places.smugmug.com/Travel/International/2008-Turkey/aDSC0212/290980092_tWwyf-M-1.jpg; R: http://1000places.smugmug.com/Travel/International/2008-Turkey/aDSC0215/284378180_pJWvm-M.jpg)

ANKARA UNIVERSITY

Image 5.7: As well as the symbol of Ankara it is the symbol of the University and the Faculty of Humanities there (Ref.: http://www.ankara.edu.tr/english/images/logo.gif)

Image 5.8: Hittite public monument stands in Sihhiye, Ankara, Turkey (Ref.: http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-327rakQCX_0/TezJLaZBK1I/AAAAAAAAE44/_Tk_9TdztMM/s400/IMG_8214.JPG)

5.8: The Anıtkabir and the application of Hittite symbolism in politicised state architecture

Atatürk is buried at Rasattepe hill in Ankara in one of the largest mausoleums in the world. The Turkish Republic utilized architectural styles to express its dissimilarity from its Ottoman predecessor literally in concrete form. The Anıtkabir (Memorial Tomb), as well as other major public buildings in Ankara such as the Turkish Grand National Assembly, sought to express the manufactured "Hittite" aspect of the new Turkish identity as created by the Kemâlists (Yavuz, 2007, p. 26). The tomb itself consists of forty tonnes of marble enclosed in a building featuring ten towers of pre-Ottoman and modern Turkish architectural styles covering 750,000 square meters in area and including an on-site Atatürk museum.

Image 5.9: Lion Walkway at Anıtkabir (Image Françoise Rutland, 2009)

Images 5.10 a and b: l to r: Lion on the Lion Walkway Right: Hittite lion cast at British Museum from Maraş (BM C.31) (Images Françoise Rutland, 2009)

The Aslanlı Yol (Road of Lions) (262 m long) at the Anıtkabir is flanked on either side by 24 Hittite lions representing the 'strength and power of [*the*] Turkish nation', Ankara, Turkey (Wilson, 2009, p. 243) (images 5.9, 5.10). Many of the Anıtkabir architectural competition entries featured lions within their designs. This had been first suggested in 1939 by the Turkish magazine *Sanat-Edebiyat-Sosyolji* (*Art-Literature-Sociology*, Vol.1, 1939) when it published a design of a huge lion sculpture at the top of monumental steps with the caption 'A Proposal: Atatürk's Mausoleum Should Be a Giant HITTITE Lion' (Wilson, 2009, p. 245).

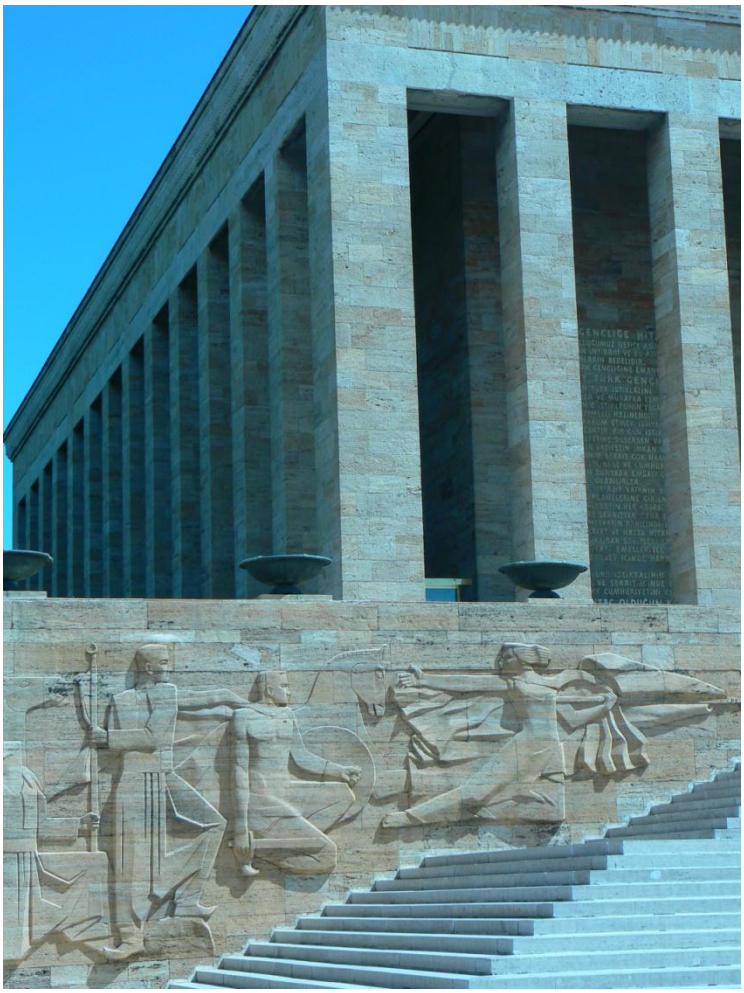


Image 5.11: The Mausoleum at the Anıtkabir (Françoise Rutland, 2009)

The architecture and sculpture of the Mausoleum complex was inspired by the Pergamon temple (image 5.11) and designed by Profs. Emin Onat and Orhan Arda of the Istanbul School of Engineering (Wilson, 2009, p. 243). They were awarded the architectural contract in 1943 after an international competition where only proposals by German, Turkish, Swiss and Italian architects were shortlisted. The Onat and Arda design at the time appealed to the competition jury who favoured a Western Neo-Classical form and the editors of *Arkitekt* who favoured Eastern and Islamic architectural forms. The resultant design featured a stylised Classical peristyle structure with Hellenic decoration on the outside with Seljuk interior design (images 5.12aandb). These styles reflect the intended historical associations with Western historicity through the Classical aspects while the Seljuk interior maintains the Kemâlist pre-Islamic cultural inheritance from the East (image 5.17), omitting all references to an Ottoman Islamic identity.

Images 5.12 a and b: L: Stylised Classical Hellenic decoration beneath the Mausoleum peristyle; R: Seljuk interior inside Mausoleum, Anıtkabir (Images Françoise Rutland, 2009)

Onat and Arda quoted the *Turkish Historical Thesis* to justify their choice of design claiming that since Atatürk had saved Turkey from the Middle Ages, and demonstrated that their heritage was derived from Classical cultures as are all other Mediterranean civilizations, they wished to associate their design philosophy with that of this supposed seven-thousand-year-old 'Classical' civilization (Wilson, 2009, p. 245). Here they were in fact referring to the Chalcolithic period. This can only be defined as a Classical civilization in the sense that, in Kemâlist terms, this was the birthplace of all subsequent culture and civilisation in the Mediterranean leading to the 5th century BC Hellenic.

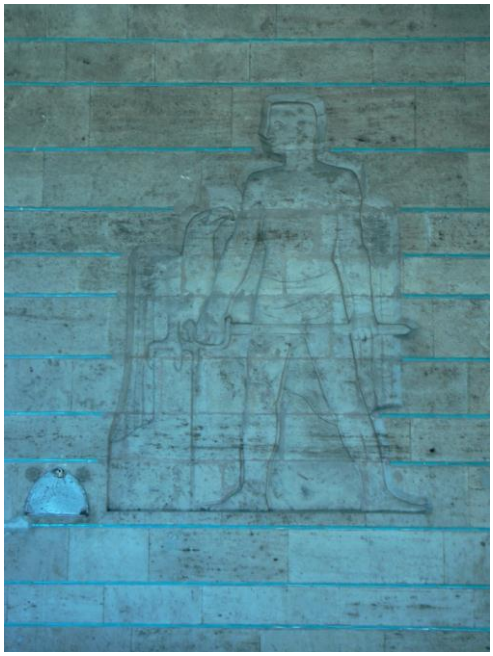


Image 5.13: Relief of 'Man Figure' at the Tower of Defence of Rights by Nusret Suman (1905-1978) (Image Françoise Rutland, 2009).

The exterior sculpture present in the complex surrounding the Mausoleum is by Nusret Saman who, as was typical at the time, had been sent to study in Europe during the Republic Era. The prevalent symbolism here refers directly to the purported Kemâlist association with the Chalcolithic and Hittite heritage. Note the two-dimensional features of this stele are inspired by Hittite stele at Yazılıkaya and other locations in Turkey (images 5.13, and 5.14).

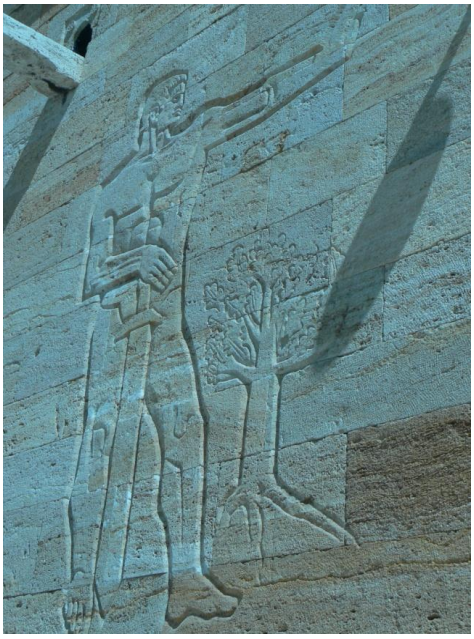


Image 5.14: The 'tree of life' symbolism inspired by Early Bronze Age/Chalcholitic 'Tree of Life' imagery. (Image Françoise Rutland, 2009)

Image 5.15 aand b: Atatürk's declaration engraved upon the Anıtkabir Mausoleum entrance wall (Images: Françoise Rutland, 2009)

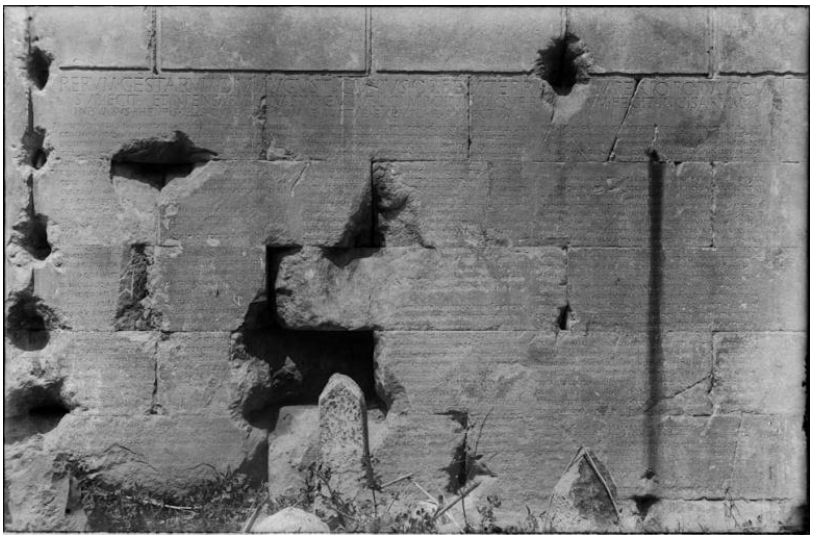


Image 5.16: Garstang's photograph of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* at the Temple of Augustus, Ankara, 1908 (UoL, GM, HIT-AN-005)

The detail of Atatürk's works embossed in gold upon the Mausoleum is a direct mimicry of Augustus' *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* as found engraved upon the Temple of Augustus in the Ulus district of Ankara (image 5.16). The site of Rasattepe hill was intentionally chosen as Ulus can be viewed directly from it, as one European ruler might acknowledge another across the centuries one monument overlooks the other. The ancient inscription of Roman imperial intentionality today misses the grand colonnade which provided the majestic crescendo as visitors approached it (Güven, 2010, p. 48). Atatürk's words can still be glimpsed glittering behind the colonnade as one approaches the imposing staircase (images 5.15aandb), imparting the importance of recording the intentionality of history as well as its gravitas. Just as Augustus was nominated *Pater Patriae* after establishing the *Pax Romana*, so Atatürk officially took his name as 'Father of the Turks' and promoted the universal principle of "Peace at home, peace in the world (*Yurtta sulh, cihanda sulh*). Augustus was a Western emperor consolidating an empire spanning East and West in homogenised peace and trade, so too was the vision of Atatürk as he aimed to link Europe and Asia through a united Turkish nation.

Image 5.17: The decorative artwork of the Mausoleum ceiling brings to mind the surviving mosaic from Pergamum and Babylon. (Image Françoise Rutland, 2009)

Therefore we see here the parallel use of architectural style, design and decorative symbolism made into a public monument to the prevalent government ideologies and metanarratives of the time in both Turkey and Britain. Whereas the Liverpool public museum and the surrounding 'acropolis' spoke of British dominion and cultural superiority of the middle and upper classes who presented their élite status through Neo-Classicism, the Kemâlist government used stylised versions of the heritage they expediently appropriated to promote and embed their own political ideologies namely Anatolian Chalcolithic, Hittite, Classical and Seljuk cultures.

Most significantly, the Alacahöyük wall reliefs discovered in 1934, representing hunting and ritual scenes, were worked into the retaining wall of the terrace which supports the statue of Atatürk in front of the Ethnographic Museum of Ankara consolidating the intended monumental historicity linking the Hittites with Atatürk. Theodore Makridi Bey had had the wall sculptures chiselled off with the intention of taking them to the Istanbul Museum in 1907 however this had not occurred. In 1920 they were transported to Ankara by the Oriental Institute (Güterbock, 1956, p. 54).

The monopoly of Hittite and Sumerian symbolism in public imagery dedicated to Atatürk was not solely his doing. During the 1940s Turkey saw a surge in Kemâlist popularisation due to the political threat felt during WWII. Political parties were

vying with each other to appear more Kemâlist than the rest. It was made illegal to criticize or slander Atatürk or any of his reforms. Three military coups were attempted in the name of protecting Atatürk's legacy. In 1960 a re-established civil government initiated a centralised nationalization programme throughout the country relaunching a dominant Atatürkist ideology through regional museums (Shaw, 2011, p. 934). The Anıtkabir Atatürk Museum was inaugurated while the Hittite Museum in Ankara was renamed as the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in 1968. A statue of Atatürk the soldier was put up in every village across Turkey flanked by Hittite iconography (images 5.18aandb).

Today Members of Parliament still swear loyalty to Atatürk's principles and reforms. His name, bust, image and slogans adorn anything the public might lay their eyes on. Airport, schools, public buildings (inside and out), universities, highways and museums (Haviland, 1995, pp. 20-3) all bear his name, image, slogans and related symbolism. This symbolic prevalence further reinforces the presence of Turkish politics in all aspects of life and its associations with Turkish nationality and identity even today.

Images 5.18 a and b: Atatürk monument flanked by two bronze Hittite lions, Monument Square, Fethye, Turkey (Images B. Nilgün Oz, 2011)

5.9: European nationalistic blueprint of early Turkish museums

Although the Ottoman Imperial Museum was open to the public such institutions were only reclassified as national property during the Republican Era (Madran, 2002, p. 13). Following the Young Turks Revolution in 1908-12 and the

establishment of the Kemâlist government in 1923 the focus of a Europeanised national identity in museums intensified (Savino, 2011, p. 254). This brought the use of museums as organons of centralised 'national' representation to the forefront. During the Republican era museums could be seen as a national effort to modernise cultural structures following on the European model. They generally followed the examples of France, Germany, and England though they disregarded the intentionality of 'knowledge archives' a part of the European Enlightenment ideal. Shaw argues that Turkish and European museums differed fundamentally in their metanarratives as archaeological preservation and military displays were generally not the main focus in Europe (2011: 928). However, the British Museum and the Liverpool Public Museum were able to invoke British imperial ownership, territories and nationalism through their displays of art, science, industry and history as the Turkish Republican museums did - albeit in a more direct fashion (image 5.19). The inherent and fundamental museological tenet was therefore equivalent.

Image 5.19: Turkish and Atatürk banners exclusively decorate the Hittite archaeological gallery, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations of Ankara, Turkey (Image Françoise Rutland, 2009)

Whereas Turkish museums directly celebrated Turkish territorial ownership and integrity as well as resistance to European interference, the Liverpool museum showcased the individual imperial agent and his trophies of territorial conquest in the forms of archaeological, geological, zoological and ethnological collections representing a unified British imperial colonisation methodology which could

equally translate as territorial ownership, imperial integrity and resistance to encroaching global military threats on a par with the Turkish telos.

The essential difference between European and Turkish museums was reception. The British demography had been inducted into the educational values and social aspirational ideals to be imbued through art galleries, natural and archaeological museums for almost a century before Turkish museums were opened to an indifferent public (Bourdieu and Darbel, 2008). The intended use of these institutions, visiting them, was not portrayed as a desirable occupation denoting status in Turkey, and therefore their museums imparted their nationalistic didactic predominantly through their architectural presence, as monuments to the centralised Kemâlist ethos and as guardians of government selected cultural symbolisms rather than through the displays within (Özdogan, 2008).

Image 5.20: Istanbul Museum of Archaeology (Ref.: Erin Ercun, 2010 at http://eenusa.smugmug.com/Other/Miscellaneous/Blog-Uploads-2010/IMG3982/891697409_mFvwa-M.jpg)

5.10: First Kemâlist director of the Imperial Ottoman Museums: Halil Edhem Bey (1861–1938)

It is apparent that this imported method of national representation through material culture was not fully understood by Ottoman rule. Sections such as Natural History and Art, the traditional core of the largest European collections, were still missing from the museum in Istanbul (Shaw, 2011, p. 929) when Halil Edhem Bey (1861–1938) was appointed following Hamdi Bey's death in 1910 (see

Appendix Three). Halil Bey extensively developed the application of the Kemâlist nationalist metanarrative through heritage.

He was Hamdi Bey's younger brother by almost twenty years and was more nationalistic in his politics (Savino, 2011, p. 258). He came into his position at the height of the Young Turks nationalist movement. Politically and culturally Halil Bey's career functioned entirely within the Unionist era, followed by World War I, the Kemâlist government and the war with Greece. Unlike Hamdi Bey, who had essentially worked within the traditional Ottoman parameters of a westernised Oriental, Halil Bey was a very different political creature. As Director of the Imperial Ottoman Museums he established the Museum of Pious Foundations in Istanbul (now the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts) and extended the displays of national Turkish and Islamic artwork (Eldem, 2011, p. 8) within the museum and around Istanbul with the intention of integrating the European metanarrative into the undeniable Eastern heritage of Turkey.

In 1935, Halil Bey claimed superior status for the Istanbul Museum to those found in the most eminent of Western nations. He further denigrated the earlier Ottoman rule for allowing any artefacts out of the country (Edhem, 1935, pp. 2-9) and so, yet again, found the opportunity to use archaeological heritage and museum narratives as a political tool analogous to its use in Europe.

In 1937 for the Second Turkish History Congress archaeological sites were visited as well as an exhibition held at the Dolmabahçe Palace which chronologically displayed artefacts from Turkish and other Mediterranean sites under the title of 'Turkish History and its Artefacts'. This laid evolutionary ownership over Anatolia since prehistoric times as well as claiming Turkish culture to be the forerunner of civilization in the Mediterranean (Atakuman, 2008, p. 229). A European parallel, if somewhat earlier, is recognisable in the tradition of the Imperial Exhibitions which disseminated the belief of imperial ownership over the hundreds of (some independent) nations and their cultural displays within through their patronising and unilateral presentation to the native public. As discussed in Appendices Five and Twelve (Great British Exhibitions, Cast Galleries) these were the direct

precursors to the establishment of museums as imperial 'wonder houses' in fairly obvious support of maintaining their imperial rule, transferred ownership of cultures and knowledge.

5.11: Postcolonial interpretation of the role of archaeology in the westernisation of Turkey

"For the People, despite the People"

(M. Kemâl Atatürk, *Kastamonu* Speech, 1925)

Turkey used its own history by appropriating the Hittite and Sumerian heritage, and dismissing its Ottoman legacy, to consolidate its geographical claims and create a post-imperial culture of its own. These policies, if somewhat questionable, eventually gained Turkey credible status as a nation in the eyes of its powerful Western allies, appearing capable of governing itself and holding the influential role of political lynchpin between Russia and Eurasia. Furthermore, the creation of this new national identify and forced mass adherence of its society to its imagined history allowed a fragmented group of peoples to unite under one charismatic leader who still holds the allegiance of many seventy-five years after his death.

Removing the Ottoman cultural inheritance from the nation's consciousness reduced the chances of resistance against the newly implemented Kemâlist policies. Secularising politics was also a step towards capturing the Western political ideals Atatürk and the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) aspired to. It was in regions located furthest away from the seat of this secular Turkish influence (i.e. Istanbul and Ankara) that saw uprisings as the dividing cultural gap between Kemâlist supporters and the masses widened considerably as the former disengaged from the Islamic tradition and sought Europeanization (Neumann and Welsh, 1991, p. 340). This unrest was abetted by enclaves who sought to maintain a strong identity and cultural independence from Kemâlist Turkey. These included Kurds, Armenians, Arabs and religious groups such as Jews and Dervishes (Kushner, 1997, p. 222). The quick suppression of these groups was a method lifted straight out of British colonial practices as described by Macaulay in his essay regarding the Directors of the East India Company who were to "[...] be the father and the

oppressor of the people, be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious." (Macaulay, 1903, p. 86).

The CHP, headed by Atatürk, was the 'orientalist' agent using Hittite imagery to dominate Ottoman and Islamic traditions, downgrading these to the status of internal inferior 'others' and superimposing Western ideals by which to rule. This strategy mimicked colonial Western imperialist strategies; however in this case they were imposed upon the native 'other' culture by their own people (Schein, 1997, p. 73).

As self-determining 'Europeans', the nationalist cadre mimicked and used the tools of Western imperialism where they identified nuances of 'other' within their native populace and applied internalised Western practices of dominion to subdue and civilize the 'uncivilised other' (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2008, p. 3). The members of the Kemâlist CHP had been educated at Russian and French universities and thus the application of the "disciplinary narratives of the West" (Soğuk, 1993, p. 374) upon their own nation was a straightforward progression (Shissler, 2003, p. 66). These methods have been reinforced as recently as 1982 when Kemâlism was legitimised as "central for both the state doctrine and the official 'syntax' of power in Turkey" (Bozarslan, 2000, p. 20).

What is ironic is that the 'Orient' perceived Atatürk as their icon and leading figure against European imperialism. It was only when he abolished the caliphate, imposed secularism, and thus fragmented the Islamic world in 1924, that they realised that he never intended to go on a campaign against the 'Occident'; rather he wanted to join them (Mansel, 2011, p. 391).

> "As for the Caliphate, it could only have been a laughing-stock in the eyes of the civilized world, enjoying the blessings of science."

(M. Kemâl Atatürk, Speech, 1927)

Atatürk and his party got rid of the western presence from Turkey by imitating Western colonialist practice as part of a process of self-colonisation. A similar duality and ambivalence to that present within colonial discourse is apparent in the reformation of Kemâlist Turkey (Bhabha, 2007, p. 90). There was a dichotomy of

simultaneous acceptance and rejection of the Oriental 'otherness' within as perceived through European perspectives (Said, 2003, p. 22). This theory manifested itself in the removal of the incumbent Western political presence through a process of political and cultural Westernisation. Despite claiming democratic republican status, Atatürk styled himself as patriarch of Turkey in the mould of previous Ottoman imperial forms of control. The theory of disavowal, in the Freudian sense, applies here as in both appearing to retain and give up a belief or identity (Childs and Williams, 1997, p. 132). In this case the Kemâlists retained a form of political control they had ostensibly rejected in order to create a new Westernised identity applying the political and cultural methods of the Oriental presence they ousted.

Despite the Kemâlist policies of reformation closely following Renan's European political philosophy, from a postcolonial perspective Atatürk's colonisation of the pan-Turkic ethnicities into one nation can be seen to go against the pro-ethnic diversity theme of Renan's theories (1994, pp. 17-8). His *'Qu'est qu'une nation?'* (1994, pp. 277-310) exemplifies the 19th century European model of colonisation where 'other' regions, automatically considered inferior, were possessed and developed to the point of creating a new market of production and acquisition for the sole benefit of the coloniser. This lecture eventually triggered the key text for postcolonial dialogue by Aimé Césaire *Discourse on Colonialism* (1955).

Within this political context Atatürk deployed Hittite and Sumerian imagery and symbols in the core institutions of the state including banks, public monuments and universities (Glyptis, 2008). Despite originally using this Near Eastern archaeology to argue for the legitimate appropriation of an Eastern geographic region he then re-invested out of it a vocabulary for the modern symbolism of a new, westernised nation. He went further by displaying Hittite artistic and architectural styles as the personal mascots of a thoroughly Westernised president – as seen at the Anıtkabir. The Tower of the 23 April/Peace Tower displays his American Cadillac while the Atatürk and The War of Independence Museum holds his French suits (Anıtkabir Atatürk Museum) and other such personal objects. These museum displays are active tools for the proclaiming and upholding of a westernised nationalist policy as

embodied through the commemoration of the personhood of its iconic leader. This is reminiscent of the political role played by Christian holy relics during the 11th and 12th century European Medieval periods (Brown, 1975, p. 135). Meanwhile Hittite culture acted as the 'fetish', as Freud put it (Kofman, 1999), or the symbolic catalyst, that was taken from its context of archaeology and came to represented both the displacement of Turkish Ottoman heritage and the wholesale adoption of its new symbolic meaning that embodied a Westernised Orient (Bhabha, 2007, p. 19). This message was constantly reasserted through repeated public and corporate representations to reinforce its prescribed veracity.

It is ironic that the Western press and governments could justify to themselves the denunciation of the Kemâlists for driving out ethnicities that refused to submit to a homogenising westernised cultural blueprint when this was exactly what had been implemented throughout Western empires for hundreds of years. By demonising Turkey for this inhuman behaviour Europe maintained the status quo of the West being superior both culturally and morally to the East regardless how much the East strove to ‘civilize’ itself. This blatant duality was not questioned because, in political terms, it is a convenient belief that the Oriental is essentially immoral and uncivilized. The East mimicking the West was seen as acknowledgment of superiority. This belief is essentially the western psyche which craves a global hierarchical structure, creating a domineering ‘colonialist’ process through which nations and political notions can be influenced and controlled.

5.12: Conclusion - John Garstang and Hittite archaeology in Turkey

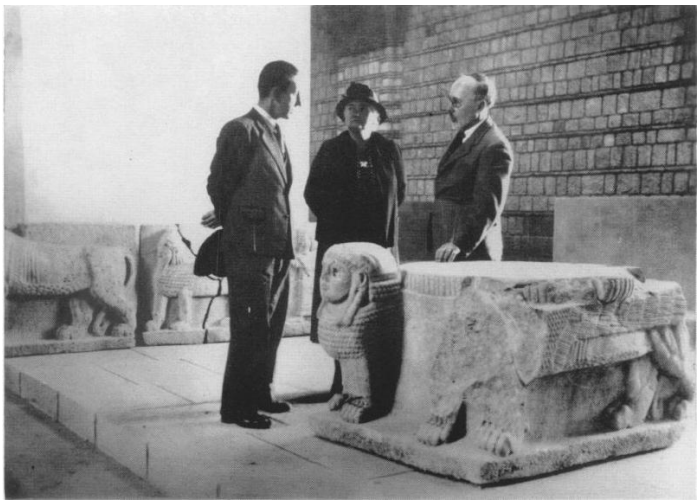


Image 5.21: R: Prof. J. and Mrs Garstang with Prof. Hamit Zubeyr Koşay at the Sakçagözü column base in the *Bedesten,* central part of the Ankara Archaeological Museum, 1940s. The 'Priest King', 'Sphinx' and 'Lion' stele are visible in the background (Güterbock, 1956, p. 54).

Garstang's stelae from Sakçagözü came to take centre-stage in the metanarrative of a common Turkish heritage. These archaeological remains were invested with the political synecdoche of retrospective colonisation through which disparate ethnicities had had Hittite culture prescribed as their common heritage and were thus unified in a bid for the creation of a westernised democratic republic.

The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara (then the Ankara Archaeological Museum), holds stelae and artefacts from Carchemish in Gaziantep, and Alacahöyük, in the Çorum district (Curator, 2009), as well various sculptures from Sakçagözü. These were transported to what was called the *Bedesten* in Ankara, which held the Hittite archaeological display and the Sakçagözü gateway was reconstructed here by Hans Güterbock in the 1940s (image 5.21) (Güterbock, 1956, p. 56). This was later incorporated to make part of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations.

When Garstang republished his book *The Hittite Empire - Being a survey of the history, geography and monuments of Hittite Asia Minor and Syria* in 1929 he must have been aware that this knowledge had significantly contributed to the Kemâlist *Pontus Meselesi* which was used to successfully bid for legitimate Turkish

reclamation of Ottoman territory (see Appendix Twelve). The political significance of this with regard to the esteem he was held in by the new Turkish political regime did not escape Garstang. He was dedicated to his academic archaeological research but he was equally aware of the role archaeology and its interpretation played in the political sphere, both in Britain and in Turkey. While the Ottoman Empire still existed, Garstang appealed to his British contacts at the consulate to facilitate his permit applications knowing that they held caché with the westernised Hamdi Bey. Once the Kemâlists gained power, Garstang renounced his foreign contacts in Istanbul, knowing that the political power invested in archaeology was now to be directly negotiated for with the new nation's leader, Atatürk. Here, as in Britain, Garstang was not involved in the museum interpretations applied to the artefacts he recovered, and there is no evidence that he ever attempted to influence these. It can therefore be construed that since he understood the role archaeology played in political metanarratives in Turkey and in Britain he utilised this associated power to advance his career, but not how it was applied.

This ability to negotiate the political landscape in order to access archaeological knowledge led to Garstang being appointed Director of the Department of Antiquities in the British Mandate of Palestine and establishing the first non-Ottoman Palestine antiquities museum in Jerusalem, both of which he did with the assistance of his influential contacts in Britain.

Similarly his political knowhow led to strong professional relationships with Atatürk and his department of history and antiquities, while working at Mersin. Through both this Turkish and his British networks he was able to found the only foreign institute of archaeology in the new Kemâlist capital, Ankara (the BIAA). The pinnacle of these archaeo-political devices was the positioning of the artefacts he had uncovered at Sakçagözü occupying the central role in Turkey's new flagship museum which represented the new unified Anatolian nationality gained from Western powers through a Western ontogeny, as applied by Taruskin (1996, pp. 1501-1604), of national cultural inheritance and territory.

Chapter Six: The 'Garstang Hittite Collection' – a science-based enquiry

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide artefactual and scientific support for the postcolonial reading of the archival and photographic evidence given in the previous chapters. Up to this point the social and political history of Britain, and Liverpool in particular, Turkey and Europe have provided the cultural contexts for a postcolonial understanding of Garstang's archaeological career and receptions of Hittite artefacts. This thesis has dealt with the interactive dialectics of an agent of empire acting within the parameters of the Edwardian British knowledge collecting network and how the political situations in Europe and Turkey informed his methodologies and aspirations. The museological archival evidence has allowed for a clear reading of the role played by public institutions such as the public museum in early 20th century Liverpool at a point when the end of Empire was becoming an inevitability rather than a possibility. Furthermore, these circumstances were compared to the utilisation applied to archaeology on the other side of Europe at a time when the Ottoman Empire had crumbled and the Kemâlist government was creating a new nationalist republic modelled on Enlightenment values acquired in Europe. The chemical analysis results herein provide the evidence at a molecular level to support the archival and theoretical discourse of the preceding chapters.

This penultimate chapter will present scientific evidence obtained through the chemical and 3-dimensional laser scanning analysis of selected artefacts chosen as case studies from the 'Garstang Hittite Collection' at NML for the purpose of this thesis.

Such analysis of Garstang's collection has never been attempted until now. This collection was titled thus - 'Garstang Hittite Collection' – by the museum upon its purchase from Garstang in 1949. This purchase included the surviving artefacts that had been on display in the 'Hittite and Aegean Collections' gallery until it was bombed in 1941 (NML, Antiquities archive, Accessions register 1928-1959). The

title given by the museum simply refers to the collector represented within the particular gallery where it was originally held. It was never intended as an accurate archaeological description to be attributed to the individual artefacts.

Firstly, the analysis will provide insight into the collecting methods employed by Garstang in the Near East (see Appendix Ten), which he freely discussed in his field notes (UCL, SC, Garstang, UCLCA/IA/A/17), correspondence (UoL, GM, letter copies Garstang-Pears 1908-09) and excavation reports (Garstang, et al., 1937). Secondly, it will elucidate the value of the Liverpool Public Museum as a mechanism of knowledge distribution as perceived by Garstang and projected by the displays within it.

The methods applied to selected artefacts were Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM) chemical analysis, performed at the Department of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology (ACE) at the University of Liverpool (UoL) with Dr Matthew Ponting and 3-dimensional laser scanning (3-DLS) with digital analysis and three-dimensional resin model reconstructions were performed in collaboration with Dr Annemarie La Pensée at the National Conservation Centre, NML, both during 2010.

The metal artefacts analysed for this thesis were chosen as a representative cross-section from the general metals section of the 'Garstang Hittite Collection' currently held by National Museums Liverpool (NML). The objects posed questions, both of archaeological derivation and production date, which could in part be answered by scientific analysis of their composition. The remaining artefacts that might also have benefitted from SEM analysis were not suitable due to their large size. An SEM with an energy-dispersive x-ray analyser was used to analyse for elemental composition, surface irregularities, contamination introduced during production, and accumulated debris for the purpose of more precise metal composition ratio readings.

Other cases where SEM analysis has been useful in accurately attributing dates of production as part of collection curation include coins (Cline Love, et al., 1980; Kraft, et al., 2004), jewellery and ornaments (La Niece, 2009) held in public museum collections. 3-DLS analysis has been applied successfully to statuary (Levoy, et al., 2000) for the purpose of preservation as well as to cave carvings and engravings where surface contact is not desirable (Robson Brown, et al., 2001; Lambers, et al., 2007). Both analysis approaches are therefore established methods within museology.

6.1: Provenance of the 'Garstang Hittite Collection'

All artefacts retrieved from Garstang's excavations at Sakçagözü were examined by the Director of the Imperial Ottoman Museum and the associated provincial Ottoman governors. Samples then sent to Liverpool by the Istanbul Museum were examined according to the requirements of Article 32 of the Ottoman Antiquity Law of 1882 as ratified by Osman Hamdi Bey. Explicit correspondence held in archives specify that these artefacts were duplicates as in examples of artefact-types of which multiple examples were found in Turkish collections. Furthermore this correspondence confirms that once approved by the Ottoman authorities, which they were, Garstang was free to sell them to cover some of his excavation costs (UoL, GM, letter copies, Garstang-Pears 1908-1909). The Sakçagözü excavations were chronologically photographed by Garstang as the work proceeded as a new method of archaeological recording. All the finds were lined up, labelled and photographed at the end of the excavation season. Two sets of photographs were labelled 'Box A' and 'Box B', these were specifically referred to in Garstang's correspondence as the selected objects sent to Hamdi Bey for examination and approval, prior to being sent to Liverpool.

Other photographs from the Sakçagözü records show the seals he collected on this site. As well as being photographed he documented and illustrated in detail a selection of these seals in his excavation diaries, now held at University College

London. Boxes 'A' and 'B' did not contain enough pottery fragments to complete any original vessels. The archives and excavation reports state that all the Sakçagözü artefacts present in Liverpool were a selection from Trench Z allowed to Garstang by the Turkish authorities in 1911 (Garstang, et al., 1937, p. 123); confirmed and dispatched by Hamdi Bey from Istanbul (Garstang Museum archives, UoL). A series of correspondence, photographs and diary records dated 15th July 1908 to 9th August 1909 which are held in Liverpool and London archives confirm that these artefacts were sent legitimately to the Institute of Archaeology in Liverpool according to all correct procedures required by the Ottoman authorities of the time and with the final approval of the Director of Imperial Museums - Hamdi Bey (UoL, GM, letters Garstang-Pears 1908-1909, glass plate negative image; UCL, SC, Garstang, UCLCA/IA/A/17, field notes and watercolour drawings).

6.2 Select metal artefacts: metallurgical compositions of the 'Garstang Hittite Collection'

This section focuses on the analysis of a selection of metal artefacts taken from the 'Garstang Hittite Collection' held at NML. The selection was made to give an overview of the type of metals represented within the collection, both with regard to their provenance and their metal composition. Metal analysis is a proven methodology for pinpointing a more precise age range for an object's date of production as well as its broad location and method of production, which is therefore useful to museums for the identification of forgeries and fakes.

I shall divide this section into two; firstly the development of metal working and its cultural context in the Near East – comprising Egypt, Syria and Turkey - to demonstrate authenticity by compositional comparison to the developments of metal technology in the region. Secondly an interpretation of the results of metal analysis is presented telling of their true production and provenance, and what this

in turn says about Garstang's collecting habits and the decisions he made in disposing of his collection to the Liverpool Public Museum.

The overview of the regional metallurgical context provided in the first section will explain the results from the SEM analysis performed upon the selected metal artefacts from Garstang's collection which is discussed in the second section.

The conclusion will be drawn that the remaining 'Garstang Hittite' metal artefacts in the NML collections are predominantly made of later material compositions, such as gun metal, and are therefore reproductions probably acquired by Garstang as curios. This tells us about the selection criteria Garstang used when acquiring his collection from local markets and also about his relationship with the Liverpool museum, which appears to have received very few artefacts of any real value to Garstang or any commercial collector.

6.3: Historical background - early metallurgy in the Near East

Image 6.1: Map for ancient sources of metals (Françoise Rutland, 2014)

The earliest evidence for human exploitation of native copper deposits comes from the Neolithic site of Çayönü Tepesi in south-eastern Turkey, where beads of malachite and native copper that date back to 7250–6750 BC were found (De Ryck, et al., 2005, p. 261). By the Early Bronze Age (EBA) dramatic technological, political, and economic changes on both Anatolian regional and interregional scales of metal production occur. Several metallurgical developments appear in the late fourth and third millennium B.C. with Neolithic and early Chalcolithic metal assemblages replaced with larger, technologically improved tools and weapons. Of over 200 copper-alloy artefacts examined by Heskel (1980) 69% contained significant amounts of arsenic or tin. By 2000 B.C., the Middle Bronze Age, metallurgical practice was evidently approaching the efficiency and scale of an established industry, with mastery of smelting, melting, annealing, forging, working sheet metals, alloying, refining of gold and silver by cupellation of lead and even the use of iron. A dramatic economic threshold was also breached in the variety, quality, and quantity of metals manufactured, as well as in the variety of sources exploited (Yener and Vandiver, 1993, p. 208).

However, during the Bronze Age the most fundamental technical development was smelting with the adoption of slagging processes. The major difference from the more primitive prehistoric mines was in scale and organisation in the southern Near East. By 1400BC the Sinai and Wadi Arabah area attracted the attention of Egyptian prospectors and a large enterprise was established to mine and smelt copper involving an estimated 9000 mining shafts over many square kilometres. This period of industry lasted until the reign of Ramesses V (mid-12th century BC) (Craddock, 1995, pp. 62, 67). Information regarding the sources of metal in Hittite texts is scarce. Some ritual texts mention silver from Kuzza, gold from Urupirundu(m)meya (both unidentified geographic locations), copper and bronze from Alasiya and Mount Taggata. A Hittite epic about merchants of uruUra (Cilicia region) and uruZallara (probably Lycaonia or Pisidia region) states that the 13th century BC Hittites had established a number of local merchant colonies whose activities included the sourcing and storage of large quantities of copper, bronze and tin (Yakar, 1976, p. 120).

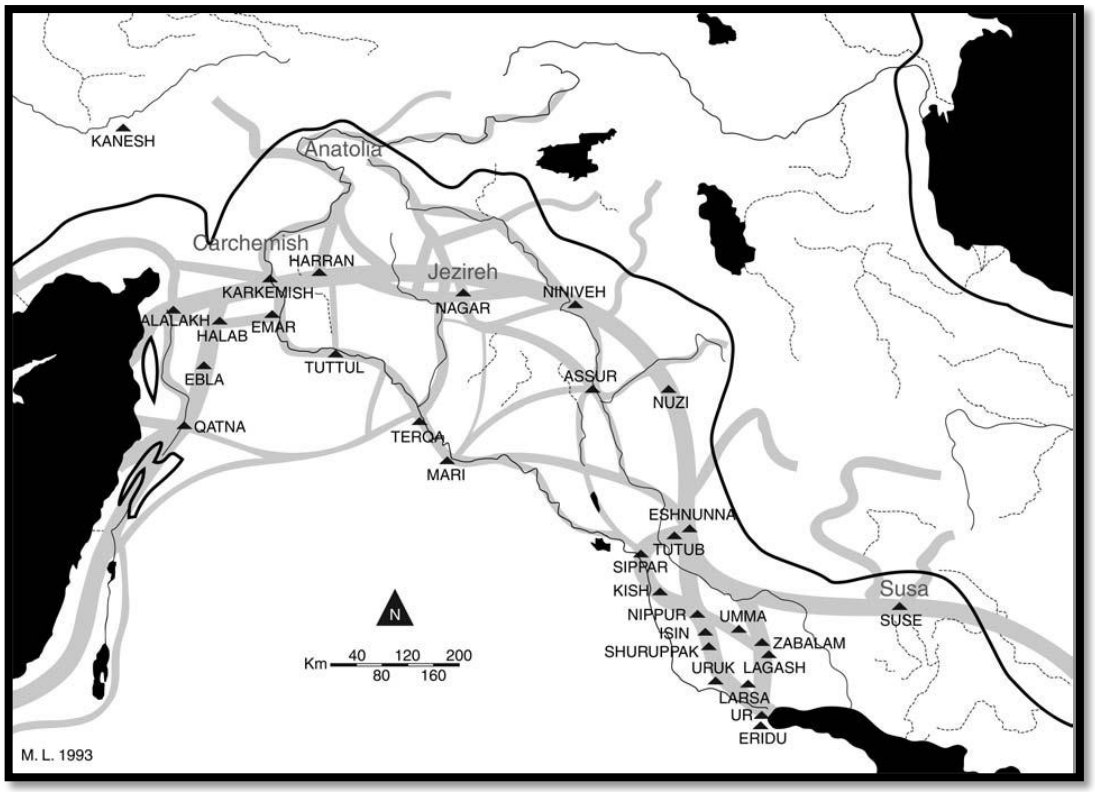


Image 6.2: Map of main Near Eastern (NE) trade routes (3rd millennium BC) from (De Ryck, et al., 2005, p. 262)

6.4: Available metal sources in the Hittite Empire

SEM works by identifying a range of metals present in the sample. These can be deliberately added (i.e. to make an alloy) or unintentionally (i.e. signatures of source or technique used for production). I will now examine the range of metals commonly available and used in the Bronze Age Near East along with evidence of technological methods which allows for an accurate reading of the metal composition results achieved by the SEM analysis.

6.4a: Sources of copper

Evidence for early smelting was found at Norsüntepe, which forms part of the copper belt stretching from Iran, via Anatolia to Cyprus and Sinai (image 6.2). The copper belt in Northern Anatolia, extending from Adapazarı in the west to Artvin in the east, has a number of metal fields near the Black Sea Coast, and south of Trabzon. Some of these fields, Tokat and in the Pontus region were already being exploited in pre-Hittite times. However, this mountainous territory which was inhabited by the Kaska in the north-central sectors and Azzi-Hayasa in the north-east was not readily open to Hittite exploitation at times due to long and frequent military conflicts. The fields in the vicinity of Diyarbakır produced blister copper (sulphide technology) around 2000 B.C. These supplied Anatolia and Mesopotamia via Assyrian merchants but were controlled by Išuwa and Khanigalbat Mitanni tribes, both of whom were hostile to the Hittites. A recent study of the composition of Ergani-Maden copper suggests that at least one of the copper ingots from the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck (c. 1200BC) was from that region (Rice Jones, 2007, pp. 420-1). Since Hurrian merchants are known to have been active in Ugarit, it could well be that they were bringing supplies of this metal from Ergani-Maden to the North Syrian markets, from where it was exported to the Mediterranean. In addition to these two copper belts, there are a number of fields in western Anatolia located close to the main west-east trade route along the Maeander valley which were probably known to miners and merchants (Yakar, 1976, p. 121).

Some ore and various pieces of copper slag from Norsüntepe dating from the 3500BC period were tested by x-ray spectroscopy (McGovern, 1987; Zwicker, 1991, p. 16). The particular compositions would have resulted from the creation of copper alloys containing antimony (Sb) and arsenic (As) found in Chalcolithic knives, daggers and needles from Cyprus and Ugarit. Chloride was found within the slag at Norsüntepe and also at Enkomi in Cyprus and Timna in the Negev. Seemingly by 3500BC oxidized copper ore was smelted to produce metals containing antimony and arsenic. The site of Göltepe was found near the mine and has been dated to the Early Bronze Age (4350–1978 BC). Some of the vessels recovered from the site are considered to be crucibles in which tin from the Kestel mine was smelted. By 2800BC sulphide ore was being smelted. Votive practices at Enkomi and Kition (Cyprus), Timna (Hathor), Norsüntepe and Tamassos (Cyprus Aphrodite) have been given as a reason for the very small amounts of copper being smelted. Further excavation and investigation at Çayönü Tepesi, 50kms south of Keban also gave evidence of several copper minerals for copper smelting. This area, Ergani-Maden, is thought to have greatly influenced the development of metal industry and technology in the Near East (Zwicker, 1991, p. 17).

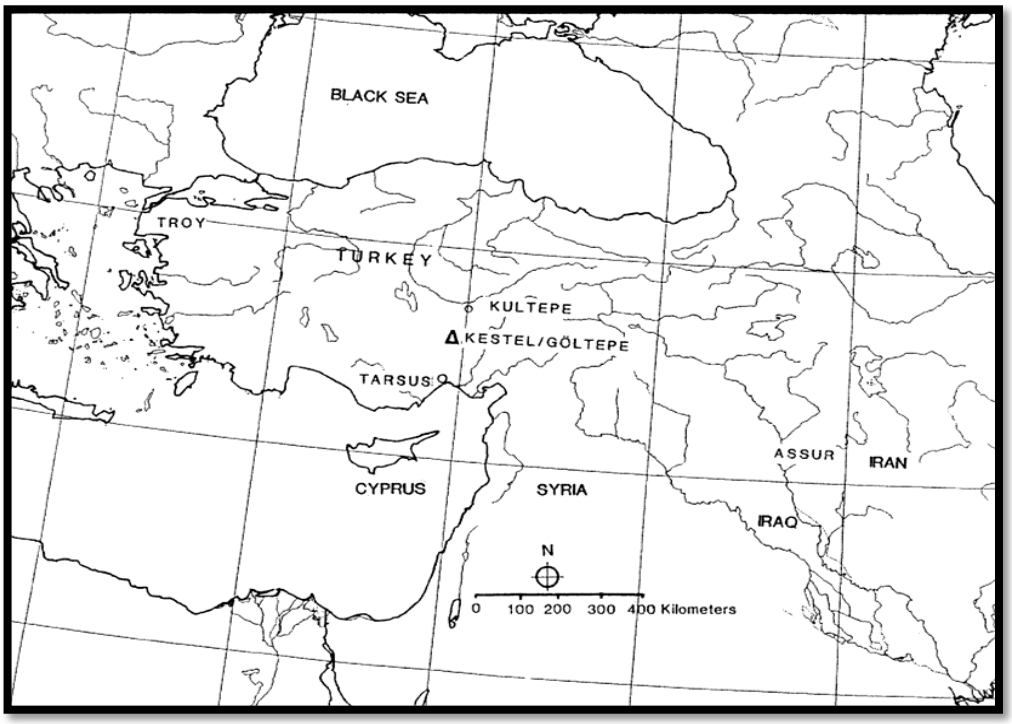


Image 6.3: Map of Near Eastern region showing location of Göltepe and the Kestel mines in southern Anatolia, Turkey in relation to Troy, Kültepe, Tarsus, Iraq, Iran and Syria (Yener & Vandiver, 1993, p. 209).

Research on copper artefacts from Wadi Timna, in southern Israel, has been carried out to establish the provenance of copper by identifying the isotopic ratio of lead within the copper. Any less than Pb 1% is thought to derive from the copper ore itself since it survives the furnace. However the exact content varies from mine to mine, even within the same mining complex (Craddock, 1985, p. 59). During the Chalcolithic and Bronze age, when typically only one tuyère (pipe through which air is blown into a furnace) was used, the temperature in the furnaces could not be raised high enough for a discrete ingot of copper to form, so globules and prills of metal stay dispersed throughout the slag. The copper globules would then have to be retrieved by the metal workers after the slag solidified. Furthermore slightly higher percentages of zinc, bismuth, antimony and lead are expected to be found due to the relatively lower smelting temperatures used. Certain high levels of lead content are most likely dependent upon the type of smelting flux used.

High levels of iron content in finished bronze alloys show that this was not removed from the raw copper prior to use; this copper purification process is considered quite easy since it only requires re-melting and skimming. However Pliny in *Natural History* (34.20) makes it clear that during the Bronze Age in Cyprus manufacturers were well aware of the different 'types' of copper available according to its origin. He also speaks of production of bar copper and fused copper. Bar copper was malleable and thus this indicates that the sulphides or iron would have been removed carefully for it to become ductile. Therefore the technological development had occurred.

From the Late Bronze Age (LBA- c. 1800BCE) varying amounts of lead were often added to copper alloys and from the Roman periods zinc became another source of lead, thus in most alloys from the 1st century BC onwards there is the possibility of lead from the copper ore, the flux, the zinc and maybe as a deliberate addition

(Craddock, 1985, p. 59). The presence of lead is therefore useful to determine the source and date of production of the sample examined.

6.4b: Sources of zinc

Early examples (1350BC onwards) of copper alloys with high zinc content (<5%) are known from the general areas covered by the Anatolian, Syrian and Iranian regions. These include rings from Nuzi, a ring and statue from Ugarit, Syria dating around 1400BC (12% zinc and 3% tin), bowls from Nimrud from 7th century BC all with over 5% zinc content. Analysis using emission spectroscopy of bracelets and fibulae from Çavustepe, NE Anatolia from 7th and 8th centuries BC gave readings of high tin (<11%) and zinc (<11%) content bronze alloys (known in antiquity as 'mocksilver'). Given the metal compositions within which these high zinc levels are found it is likely that the zinc was present in the copper ore and had become dissolved in the copper during the smelting process.

Halleux (1973) noted that in the Marian and Hittite vocabularies, in addition to the ordinary word for copper there was a special copper called specifically 'copper of the mountain'. The special significance of this is that in contemporary Greece there was also a special copper, *oreichalkos*, which translated to the same 'copper of the mountain' and later referred to as brass, was used for expensive commodities which is mentioned commonly in 500BC literary references. By the late 2nd century BC there is evidence of more intense brass usage at both ends of the Anatolian-Persian land mass. From the late 1st millennium BC several Greek references are made to copper alloys that are particularly bright, shiny and corrosion-free but are not bronze (Strabo *Geography* 13.56). Also the Book of Ezra 8:27 refers to "shiny bronze vessels precious as gold" brought back from Babylon by the Jews to the Temple in Jerusalem after their return from captivity in the mid-5th century BC (Craddock, 1985, p. 64). These could refer to high-tin bronze, cupro-nickel (several Sumerian objects have been found to hold up to 8% nickel) or arsenical copper. A copper alloy 2nd millennium BC bull's head from Mesopotamia has been found to contain 20% nickel (Craddock, 1985, pp. 64-6). From Roman times onwards, brass

became common, with the zinc acting as a further source of lead within samples (Craddock, 1985, p. 59). By the 1st century BC brass coins appear in Phrygia in western Anatolia (Craddock and Eckstein, 2003, pp. 216, 217) possibly from the mines of Andeira (Craddock, 1998, p. 5). Possibly zinc metal was no longer needed to produce brass since the development of the cementation process around the end of the 2nd century BC.

6.4c: Sources of silver

Archaeological evidence from Susa and Mesopotamia, geology (see below) and technical arguments indicate Asia Minor (Pontic Coast) as the origins of metallurgical processes for producing silver and lead. Philological evidence is argued by Dhorme (1924) who states that the town of Hatti, is often indicated by the ideogram *kù-babbar* (silver) in Cappadocian and Sumerian (Forbes, 1971, p. 203) texts, always followed by a phonetic *-ti* which phonetically reads as *Hati-ti* which suggest a strong link between silver production and Hittite cultural identity. The Hittites worked silver from the galena of Karahisar which was reported to yield as much as 600 oz. per ton.

Further textual evidence appears in the poem of 'Enmerkar of Uruk and the Lord of Aratta' regarding the provision of precious materials, including silver. It is not certain which location 'Aratta' indicates (Aubet, 2013, p, 196). The legend of 'Naram-Sin and the Enemy Hordes' mentions the 'Cedar Mountain' and the 'Silver Mountains' denoted the extent of Sargon's Akkadian empire in the western Taurus region (Westenholz, 1997, p. 312). The 'Epic of the King of Battle' recounts the mythic exploits of Sargon of Akkad refers to silver deposits in the mountains near Buršahanda and are thought to refer to the Cilician Mountains (Forbes, 1964, p. 261). The Epic of Gilgamesh also refers to the supply of silver (Jackson, 1997, p. 80). At Susa (image 6.4) silver is mentioned on a tablet dated 4500 B.C. while in Egypt in early periods it was known as "white gold" and was more precious than the yellow.

Image 6.4: Metal smiths using blowpipes as depicted on a seal from Susa c. 940BC (Scheil, 1929)

By the 18th and 19th Dynasties the Hittites were at the height of their power and in full control of North Syrian silver mines (Hitti, 2004, p. 156)**.** In the Near East silver was considered the main trading currency for imported tin. Mari texts mention quantities of tin such as "3 talents, 21 minae, 3 shekels" (about 100 kg.) which is bought at a rate of 1/14 and later 1/30. In Anatolia the rate is sometimes as high as 1/16. Regarding the distribution of the silver mines, out of twenty-six important deposits in Anatolia, eight were identified in the northern regions such as Artvin, Bayburt, Gümüşane, Karahisar, Gebel Bel Madeni, Niksar, Gümüşhacıköy and Kargı. In Hatti proper the most important mine was probably located close to Kayseri, which was the source of silver and lead supplied to the Assyrian traders stationed at Kaneš. The Bereketli Maden in Ala Dağ (the Tunni Mountains of Shalmanesser III in the Anti-Taurus) and Bolkar Madeni in the Taurus may have held additional silver mines exploited by the Hittites. Significant evidence for silver mining has appeared at Gilindire in the southern Cilician Taurus and Akdağ, at Tiris Maden of Sultan Dağ, on Gümüş Dağ (called “Silver Mountain”) near Bayındır, in the Murat Dağ, Seferhisar south-west of Izmir and finally Gümüşlü near Bodrum (Yakar, 1976, p. 121). In Hurrian-Hittite culture it is apparent that silver had divine associations as mentioned in the epic ‘Song of Silver’ regarding the whether-god Teššub (Hoffner Jr, 1988, p. 207):

[If Teˇs]ˇsub is injured by oppression

and he [a]sks [for release], if Teˇsˇsub

[is o]ppressed, each will g[i]ve to Teˇsˇsub

[one shekel of silver.]

Ea[ch] will give half a shekel [of gold], [we will each g]ive to h[im]

of silver

(KBo 32.15 ii 4'–9')

6.4d: Sources of tin

Sources of tin ore throughout the Bronze Age are still much debated. While the present tin-fields are not necessarily those used in antiquity, cassiterite deposits existed and were mined in several regions. In Anatolia a few veins of tin-stone are known near Darmanlar (south-east of Izmir), in Bilecik, Mihalgazi, Akçasu and Koyunlu, and the Murat mountain near Uşak. Among these minor fields, the one at Mihalgazi seems to be richer than the rest and was probably mined in antiquity. As for the early local sources of tin in the Troad (in the Bronze Age), Muhly (Muhly, 1973), Rapp and Wertime (Wertime, 1973) demonstrated with the help of Turkish geologists (MTA) that no such sources existed in Balıkesir and Çan (Yakar, 1976, p. 122). The Hittites may have found it difficult to reach the Araxes valley where various antique tin-rich seams and cassiterite sources have been identified, since the northern east to west trade route in Eastern Anatolia, especially the section from Sivas or Erzincan to Erivan, passed through the Azzi-Hayasa tribe controlled territories. Thus some consider Afghanistan remains a possible tin source for the 2nd millennium BC, since it is believed that the mines in the Taurus Mountains were inaccessible (De Ryck, et al., 2005, p. 267).

Akkadian texts from Mari in the time of Zimri-Lim tell us about the Old Babylonian tin trade immediately after the time of the Assyrian colonies in Anatolia. Mari imported and stored tin from Elam before sending it to Aleppo. Shipments were also made to Carchemish, Qatna, Layish (Dan) and Hazor. In another Mari text there is a reference to merchants from Kaptaru (Crete) and possibly Caria and their interpreters all residing at Ugarit (Dossin, 1970). More balanced accounts refer to caravans of donkeys and "men of bronze" transporting tin from Eshnunna to Mari. Both Hidan and Der are mentioned as stations on the road. All of these suggest a trade route going via Susa-Der-Eshnunna-Sippar-Mari to various coastal centres in

Northern Syria. The "balanced account" also refers to tin sent to Mari by Sheplarpak, Elamite ruler of Anshan (Yakar, 1976, p. 123).

In the 14th and 13th century B.C. Ugarit was significant supplier of tin, bronze and other metals. Ugaritic scribes recorded the amounts of silver owed by foreign merchants for their purchases of tin, bronze and copper. There is a letter written by a high official of Kadesh, to the king of Ugarit, referring to twenty talents of bronze and talents of tin purchased from Ugarit. Although the origin of this tin is not clear, it is very likely that Ugarit, like Mari in the early second millennium B.C., obtained supplies of this metal mostly from Elam and exported it to the Eastern Mediterranean (Yakar, 1976, p. 123).

Other scholars such as Ünal (1989, p. 142) suggest that between 1925 to 1650 BC tin was brought to Anatolia from Assyria through trading outposts including Hattuşa, Kaneš, and Karahöyük. A possible source of tin is the Kestel mine located in the Taurus Mountains in Turkey. A crucible fragment found at the Early Bronze Age Göltepe processing site corresponded to a composition and a structure typical to that of tin slag. There is doubt that this mine could have been providing the entire Near East with tin, but it must have played a role in the discovery of tin bronzes since tin bronzes were first occurring in Anatolia. It is possible that later when the mine was depleted or discontinued for other political or economic reasons, other sources of tin were used for the bronze production (De Ryck, et al., 2005, p. 266).

The importance of tin for the production of bronze in the Anatolian region has been discussed by Alan Greaves in his 2002 publication *Miletos: A History* (pp. 32-5). However few tin articles have survived from the Bronze Age maybe because tin oxide would have been difficult to reduce in primitive furnaces. Some tin ingots have been found in the Mediterranean but they are very uncommon with few

records of any tin metal being found in any Bronze Age founders' hoards, along with copper and bronze bulks. However the presence of casserite would explain the small amounts of tin found in tinned bronze alloys added to the copper during smelting (Charles, 1985, pp. 26,27).

6.5: Production of tinned copper alloys

Antiquities made of copper-tin alloys are generally classified as either low-tin bronze which is made up of up to 14% tin or of high-tin bronze with is around 19-27% tin. Tin-rich surfaces occur when the metalworker has applied tinning- tin applied to a low-tin bronze object to produce a tin coloured surface or a high-tin bronze alloy which polishes up to a high silvery shine. This natural degradation occurs to a depth of up to one or two microns or less from the surface which is why the SEM may record a high tin alloy content percentage on an artefact which needs to be readjusted to compensate for the tin-rich surface reading. Of course the degree to which this occurs is dependent upon the burial environment. The effects can range from smooth patinas to encrustations and deep pitting with a variety of coloured corrosion products such as re-deposited copper, malachite, azurite, cuprite and black tin oxide deposits in the pits of black surfaced mirrors on both high and low-tin bronze objects (Meeks, 2008, p. 259).

Pliny talks of the tinning process in his *Natural History* 34.47. An early example is a 5th century BC Greek helmet (in the British Museum GR 1856.12-26.616), which has been found to be tin plated along with a late Etruscan mirror which provides a good production reference. This was a popular process during the Roman period for decorative pieces and mirrors. This process has not as yet been identified on Egyptian or Near Eastern artefacts even though they had imported tin since c. 1580BC (Meeks, 2008, pp. 257-266)**.** However arsenic plating, which also produces a silvery copper finish, has been found on a series of bronze bulls from Horoztepe (Smith, 1973) dating from the late 3rd millennium BC which creates a striking pattern of golden bronze and silvery arsenical copper bands over the artefacts'

bodies. Other objects from Çorum-Merzifon and Bayindirkoy (Eaton & McKerrell, 1976, p. 176) have also been found to have high arsenic content surfaces. Yet there are few examples of this type plating, instead a similar cementation process could have been used during the same period to tin-plate bronze axes using a cement of powdered cassiterite and charcoal to create a similar silvery effect (Meeks, 2008).

6.6: Production of leaded copper alloys

Leaded bronze was used for cast metal work from the mid-2nd millennium BC onwards appearing first in Egypt and Mycenaean Greece. Larger castings are found to have larger lead content and this alloy was common by the 1st millennium BC, yet there does not seem to be any standardised amounts being added in correlation with the object produced with the exception of currency (Craddock, 1985, p. 61). Lead has a low melting point and is insoluble in copper and thus defined as a 'mechanical' alloy. Up to 2% lead in an alloy significantly increases the molten metal's fluidity. Any more than 2% does not increase fluidity further but it does lower the melting point of the alloy which would have significantly improved casting properties with improved ease of working after setting i.e. drilling, filing or grinding. Lead, being a by-product of silver production, was also considered a cheap metal which was an advantage when casting large objects or large amounts of filler material, however larger amounts than 4% cause the lead to form 'lakes' within the copper, making the object brittle and impossible to hammer after cooling.

Mirrors and mercury gilded objects very rarely have any lead content since, without the addition of tin, this would float to the surface and prevent polishing (such as Greek and Etruscan mirrors, the horses in St Mark's Square, Venice (Craddock, 1985, pp. 61, 62). Yet in Wadi Timna (S Israel) they had chosen to do without purification. Tin bronze had been in use throughout Europe and western Asia since c. 1700 BC as an alloy however the usual range is 8 to 10%. Anything higher generally means that the tin was added as a metal deliberately, however analysis of Timna copper ingots and Egyptian tools have shown evidence of less

than 1% tin inclusion which is generally found in copper ores. So it seems that this amount of tin was deliberately added however it is not known why (Craddock, 1980, pp. 165-172). Experiments into the composition of thin copper alloys resulting from primitive lead smelting suggests that due to the high temperatures involved in producing a fluid slag a large proportion of the lead component would be lost through volatilisation at a rate dependent upon technical variations during the smelting process (Hetherington, 1991, pp. 27,32).

Copper-arsenic alloys and the new tin-bronzes are used contemporaneously during the latter 2nd millennium BC. The tin-bronzes produced rarely contained significant arsenic and the copper-arsenic alloys are usually free from tin. It seems apparent that by this time purposeful alloying, adding selected materials to copper for their effects had been established (Charles, 1985). A cuneiform tablet made of bronze was found underneath the paving stones along the inner city walls near Yerkapı (Sphinx Gate) in Boğazköy (Ünal, 1989, p. 131) testifying to the treaty between Tudhaliya IV of Hattuşa and Kurunta of Tarhuntašša circa 1230s BC (Seeher, 1995, p. 65). This provides a fixed date of production and provides evidence for the utilization of bronze for objects of value.

6.7: Evidence for alloying and use of arsenical copper in the Near East and Egypt

During the Early Bronze Age tin bronze was absent in Egypt, Palestine, Crete and mainland Greece, but a quarter of all objects analysed from northern and western Iran, Central Anatolia, the Troad and the Cyclades were made of this alloy. One tenth of objects from Syria and Mesopotamia were of sound bronze while two-thirds of all objects from Syria, NW Iran, the Cyclades, Crete and mainland Greece were of arsenical copper. Only the Troad used more tin bronze than arsenical copper. The following tables present tin and arsenical content percentages as found by Eaton and McKerrell (1976) at various NE sites from subsequent EB and MB periods.

Tin Content c.3000-2200BC	<10%	5-10%	1-5%	C. 0.5%	> 0.1%	Total Objects
Egypt	1	3	2	10	156	172
Palestine	-	-	-	1	35	36
Syria	1	2	2	2	16	23
Mesopotamia	9	6	16	28	69	128
N and W Iran	4	5	8	6	17	40
C Anatolia	3	24	7	17	61	112
Troad	3	19	5	12	21	60

After (Eaton and McKerrell, 1976, p. 171)

Tin Content c. 2200–2600BC	<10%	5-10%	1-5%	c. 0.5%	>0.1%	Total Objects
Egypt	7	18	10	22	59	116
Palestine	14	14	18	19	62	127
Syria	8	30	18	16	52	124
Mesopotamia	10	11	15	22	118	176
N and W Iran	4	9	8	8	20	49
C Anatolia	11	46	15	12	60	144
Troad	-	3	1	-	1	5

After (Eaton and McKerrell, 1976, p. 173)

Arsenic Content c. 3000-2200BC	<10%	5-10%	1-5%	c. 0.5%	>0.1%	Total Objects
Egypt	1	12	35	64	60	172
Palestine	-	-	6	4	15	25
Syria	-	-	14	9	-	23
Mesopotamia	-	-	35	36	40	111
N and W Iran	-	-	21	9	6	36
C Anatolia	-	-	33	32	42	107
Troad	-	-	12	18	30	60

After (Eaton and McKerrell, 1976, p. 172)

Arsenic Content c. 2200-1600BC	<10%	5-10%	1-5%	c. 0.5%	>0.1%	Total Objects
Egypt	2	13	35	20	22	92
Palestine	1	6	31	22	60	120

Syria	-	-	29	51	44	124
Mesopotamia	-	3	33	46	90	172
N and W Iran	-	-	13	17	15	45
C Anatolia	-	-	56	42	37	135
Troad	-	-	1	2	9	12

Table 6.1: Presenting tin and arsenical contents of metals from various NE sites from Early and Middle Bronze periods. After (Eaton and McKerrell, 1976, p. 173)

The highest percentage of objects from all these areas held less than 0.1% tin content. However during the EB and MB ages in the Near East it is clear that the main alloy was arsenical copper, with tin bronze co-existing and eventually replacing it in the Late Bronze Age (LBA). In Egypt the use of arsenic-free metal rose rapidly from Old Kingdom to New Kingdom especially in axes and adzes which seem to have had lesser levels of tin even during the EBA (Eaton and McKerrell, 1976, p. 174). Used skilfully with clear control over the level of arsenic in the alloy the likeliest method of manufacture in Anatolia was probably direct co-smelting of partially roasted copper and iron-arsenic sulphide ores. This left up to half the original arsenic content intact (Eaton and McKerrell, 1976, p. 178). Various Sumerian metallurgic recipes mixing tin (Akkadian *annaku*) with copper to achieve bronze have been found (Muhly, 1973). Four out of five recipes instruct the reader that bronze objects should hold c. 14.2% of *annaku* however analysis of Mesopotamian objects ranging from pre-Saragonic to Neo-Assyrian (3000BC-1600BC) are very much at odds with this (only 2% have that level). It is likely that by *annaku* they mean arsenic rather than tin (Muhly, 1973).

As yet sources of tin in the Near East have been very scarce especially when taking into consideration the textual trade records of tons per annum quoting north western Iran as a main source. However most of the metal objects from 3000-2200BC from here are arsenic-rich copper with a decrease from 1600BC onwards. Since in the middle Bronze Age Egypt, Palestine and Crete all increased their tin-copper production they must have been importing from a western-Mediterranean source. Muhly (1973) argues that Cornwall might have been the source of this

producing extensive evidence. It is most likely that *annaku* in Akkadian simply referred to the additive (whether tin or arsenic) which was to be added to copper to achieve a castable and hard silver-coloured alloy or to achieve a shiny silvery finish. Egyptian objects from the 5th and 6th dynasty from the Metropolitan museum and various mirrors from the Ashmolean and the British Museum from Old to New kingdom have been found to be coated on one side only with a reflective surface of arsenic-rich copper (Eaton and McKerrell, 1976, p. 183).

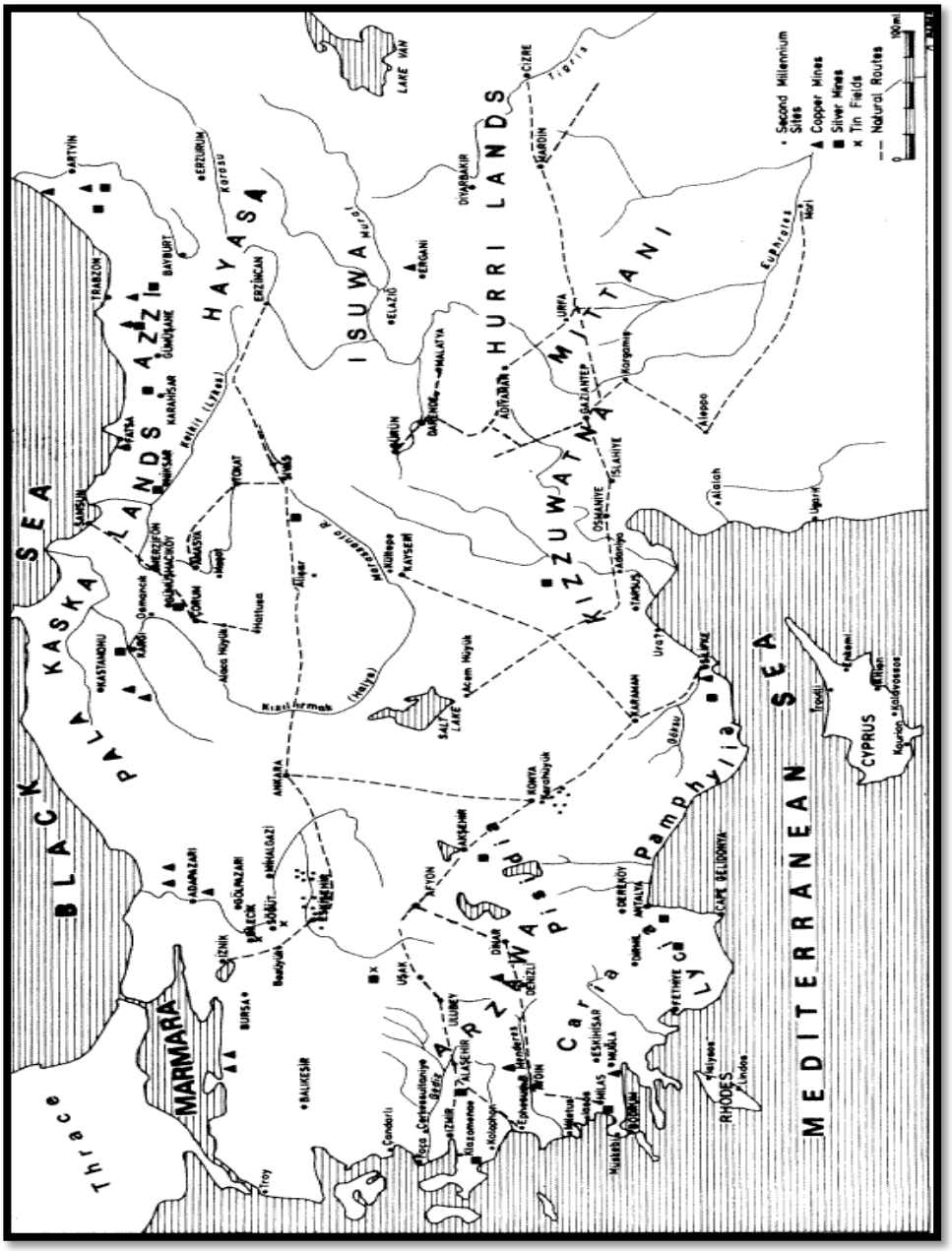


Image 6.5: Map of Anatolia, showing metal sources and natural transport routes (Yakar, 1976, p. 118)

6.8: Neo-Hittite metal production sites in the Carchemish region

Finds from the 5th century Carchemish (modern Jerablus) cemeteries provide the closest compositional comparanda to the selected samples from Sakçagözü. Carchemish is located East from the Jezireh (image 6.3). From this region, data of ninety eight bronze objects of the Woolley collection (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK) have been used in Peter Northover's metal analysis study (Northover, 1970) quoted in *Analysis of Bronze Age Metalwork from Tell Mozan, Tell Leilan, Tell Brak and the Carchemish Region* (De Ryck, et al., 2005, pp. 263-5). The majority of the Carchemish bronzes date to the 3rd millennium BC. The absence of any exact dating again eliminates the possibility of drawing any conclusions with regard to chronology. Results show that both arsenical and tin bronzes appear in the Carchemish region. The arsenic concentration of the arsenical bronzes is similar to that of the Jezireh bronzes, i.e. ranging from low (As < 0.5 wt.%) to high (As > 2 wt.%) concentrations. Compared to the Jezireh bronzes, similar variations in concentration are observed for the remaining elements; which means that: (1) efforts were made to increase the arsenic concentration of the high-arsenical bronzes; (2) recycling of bronzes occurred and (3) at least two different sources were used. In addition bronzes with a high nickel concentration (between 1 and 4 wt.%) were discovered in the Carchemish cemeteries. Thus an additional source of bronze or raw material was available in the region. True tin bronzes are also apparent in the Carchemish region. They can be divided into two groups: A - average tin concentration circa 4 wt.% (low tin) and B - average tin concentration circa 10 wt.% (intermediate tin). Bronzes with a tin content above 12 wt.% (high tin) are not observed. However, the subdivision into groups is not as easy as for the Jezireh bronzes. The intermediate tin bronzes of the region show a higher tin concentration than those from the Jezireh (10 vs. 8 wt.%) which could imply that the tin bronzes of the two regions originate from different locations. Similar to the Jezireh and Carchemish region it can be concluded that an effort was made to create bronzes with a high concentration of arsenic.

The number of high-arsenical bronzes together with their average arsenic concentration decreases around the time when tin bronzes start being produced. In addition the average concentration of tin as a minor constituent of the arsenical bronzes increases to an average concentration of about 0.1%. This change in concentration of tin at the moment when tin bronzes were introduced suggests that metal scrap was used as a raw material for bronze production. Evidence of this practice in an archaeological context comes from the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck. It was found to have carried a large amount of bronze scrap in the form of used and damaged tools and other metal objects and casting waste as well as thirty-four complete copper oxide ingots and copper oxide ingot fragments amounting to around one ton of metal cargo ready to be reused (Rice Jones, 2007, p. 7). Moreover the average iron content of the arsenical bronzes with a low concentration of arsenic (< 0.5%) increased between 2550 – 2350 BC, which suggests a change in metal technology. It is notable that this change appears just before the introduction of tin bronze (De Ryck, et al., 2005, pp. 264-6). High tin bronzes have not as yet been found in the Carchemish region. During the Akkadian period in northern Mesopotamia the use of tin bronzes temporarily ceased, which may mean that the Akkadian overlords were left with no access to tin sources. In contrast, tin bronzes were continuously used in the southern cities (Susa, Ur) of Mesopotamia (De Ryck, et al., 2005, p. 267).

6.9: Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM) metal composition analysis of selected 'Garstang Hittite Collection' artefacts

The aim of the analysis was to investigate a selection of artefacts to ascertain the artefact's metal composition and inform interpretations of their possible manufacture method, date and origin. Secondly, a more concrete understanding of the metal assemblage within Garstang's 'Hittite Collection' is crucial to the broader aims of this thesis.

Garstang was a committed and professional archaeologist with a mathematician's training. His excavation notebooks, photographs and committee reports show that he was meticulous about details and reflect his interest in his projects. However, the way in which these metal artefacts were acquired and came to be placed together presents a significant open question about their acquisition, for which we lack proper archaeological recording and collection methodology. Garstang seems to have felt no compunction to correct this deficiency of contextual information in 1929 when the new gallery displays at the Liverpool Public Museum were proposed. Neither was this apparent lapse amended either by him or by curators when he sold his 'Hittite Collection' to the museum in 1949 for £600 when Tankard was doing her best to improve the loss of museum collections due to enemy action (Acc. no. 49.47-Archaeology, Antiquities Accessions records, NML). There is no evidence that the museum ever requested further information from Garstang. This indicates that Garstang supported a programme of democratic dispersal of archaeological knowledge to the general public and schools, however he was well aware that the museum was aiming for a role supporting 'general knowledge', rather than a university academic standard of analysis; maybe this demonstrates that he was aware that the artefacts he had loaned and sold to the museum were of suspect or low scholarly value for the purpose of the scientific advance of Neo-Hittite archaeological knowledge.

The following table presents the metal components in percentage present in the chosen artefacts from the 'Garstang Hittite Collection', with allocated date of production.

Accession Number	Fe Wt%	Cu Wt%	Zn Wt%	Sn Wt%	Pb Wt%	Metal
49.47.161	8.9	37.5	5.1	48.4	-	IA Tin copper
49.47.170	2.4	85.9	-	11.8	-	IA Tin bronze
49.47.235	0.4	87.1	-	10.8	-	MBA tin

						bronze
49.47.203(1st)	1.2	28.9	3.8	17.7	14.7	IA lead composite (gun metal)2nd AD>
49.47.203(2nd)	1.6	37.8	4.4	15.7	12.5	IA Lead composite (gun metal) 2nd C AD>

Table 6.2: Content of metal components in percentage for each case study with allocated date

Key:

Fe: Iron

Cu: Copper	EBA: Early Bronze Age
Zn: Zinc	MBA: Middle Bronze Age
Sn: Tin	LBA: Late Bronze Age
Pb: Lead	IA: Iron Age

6.10: SEM results and interpretations

Some of the original 1929 reference cards compiled by Vaughan for the following items are currently missing. It appears that this was not so until recently, as an earlier attempt at digitizing the Garstang Hittite collection involved making a copy of the then extant card details. It is from this latter data sheet that I quote the original accession information when available.

NML 1949 Accession numbers - 49.47.161

Image 6.6: 49.47.67 (Courtesy of NML image archives)

No museum reference card or suggestions that there ever was one have been found for this item even though it was accessioned with the rest of the collection as part of the 'Garstang Hittite Collection' by the museum in 1949, its provenance is therefore unknown. The design suggests Greek or Roman derivation and the SEM analysis resulted in a tin and copper alloy which is consistent with this typological observation (Muhly, 1977). The SEM appears to confirm the macroscopic observation that it is a Greek or roman artefact, but it is unclear how it came to be included in the 'Garstang Hittite Collection'.

Accession Number	Fe Wt%	Cu Wt%	Zn Wt%	Sn Wt%	Pb Wt%	Metal
49.47.161	8.9	37.5	5.1	48.4	-	IA Tin copper

Table 6.3: Metal composition of 49.47.151

49.47.170

Image 6.7: 49.47.170 (Courtesy of NML Image archives)

> 'Bronze ear scoop with handle in the form of a human figure, pierced lug at the top" acquired from "Beirut, locality unknown", "Roman.'

The SEM analysis suggests a bronze composition of Early Bronze Age (EBA c. 2600–2300 BC) type (De Ryck, et al., 2005, p. 266), however, the design of the object is Greek or Roman. This raises the likelihood that it is an antique bronze artefact recycled during the early 20th century for sale as a forgery or curios to Western travellers. Due to the elevated value attributed to Hellenic and Roman culture by Western collectors it would have been in the dealer's interest to have Hellenic and

Roman artefacts to attract the Western buyer, rather than those from earlier periods or of obvious Near Eastern origin. This was a common problem the European collector encountered as advised by Andrew Burnett at the British Museum (Jones, et al., 1990, pp. 136-172).

Accession Number	Fe Wt%	Cu Wt%	Zn Wt%	Sn Wt%	Pb Wt%	Metal
49.47.170	2.4	85.9	-	11.8	-	IA Tin bronze

Table 6.4: Metal composition of 49.47.170

49.47.235

Image 6.8: 49.47.235 (Courtesy of NML image archives)

> 'Original 1929 reference card – DH106
>
> 1 Horn - Plate (bronze) cut in shape of horn. Pierced for sewing to garment. Broken – 3 pieces ? survival of Hittite ritual horns. See no. 67, Pl. XXII, Liv. Ann. VII and p. 123. From (?) Second Cemetery, Deve Hüyük II, 600 – 300 BC.'

This was one of the objects contributed to the 'Garstang Hittite Collection' by Woolley in 1913. The finds from the Deve Hüyük cemeteries generally date from the Iron and Achaemenid periods (Woolley, 1914). Woolley published this object along with another of its type in 1914. He describes them as curious bronze objects. He supposed that they were ritual horn attachments to be sewn to the head-dress of priests claiming that this was the best link from a Hittite tradition into a non-Hittite period (Woolley, 1914-16, pp. 123, pl. XXII). Woolley's collection from Deve Hüyük was republished in 1980 by Moorey (Moorey, 1980, pp. 66, pl. 10, fig. 207). This artefact was interpreted more convincingly by Moorey as a gorytus (quiver and box

case) tip of Scythian type. Such bows were of composite type with doubly convex bow with setback handle carried in a combined quiver and bow case. These are represented on the Persepolis reliefs, worn by men in Median and Persian dress. This type of weaponry was common for mounted archers firing bronze trilobe arrowheads (Schmidt, 1952, pp. 51-2; Moorey, 1980). The SEM analysis resulted in a very high content of copper with 10% tin. This high level of purity is typical of early 1st millennium BC Near Eastern Bronze Age, containing no lead. The object would have been easily cut, pierced and manipulated as a sheet of metal designed to be cut and sewn onto flexible gorytus material (probably leather). It would have had an attractive shine when polished.

Accession Number	Fe Wt%	Cu Wt%	Zn Wt%	Sn Wt%	Pb Wt%	Metal
49.47.235	0.4	87.1	-	10.8	-	MBA tin bronze

Table 6.5: Metal composition of 49.47.235

Image 6.9: Line drawing of Median figure with gorytus decoration, Apadana Palace, Persepolis (Curtis and Tallis, 2005, p. 214)

Curl horn-like decoration is clearly depicted at the top tip of the gorytus of this king's weapon-bearer wearing Median dress above. He is shown on the central panel from the two sides of the Apadana Palace relief at Persepolis (early 5th century BC) (Curtis & Tallis, 2005, p. 214). Again, the SEM shows a result consistent with the typological observation of Moorey. This artefact did not make part of the collection Garstang loaned to the museum in 1929 however it was displayed in the Hittite Collections gallery along with Garstang's objects and at some point after the salvage operation of 1941 the Carchemish artefacts came to make part of the 'Garstang Hittite Collection' as compiled by the Liverpool Public Museum. A reading of its metal composition would not directly reflect upon Garstang's collecting methods however it does contribute to an understanding of contemporaneous collection methods by his colleagues in the field (i.e. Woolley and Lawrence).

6.11: Two artefacts from the 'Garstang Hittite Collection' reflecting upon Edwardian collecting methodologies in the Near East

Having demonstrated that the SEM works to confirm interpretations made on the basis of typology, let us turn to some less clear examples which require combined SEM and 3-dimensional laser scanning. These techniques, in combination with digital virtualisation software, will allow for new insight into their production method, date, intended use and context in the 'Garstang Hittite Collection'.

6.11a: Case study 1: interpreting a 14-sided bronze die through combined 3-D laser scanning and SEM analysis

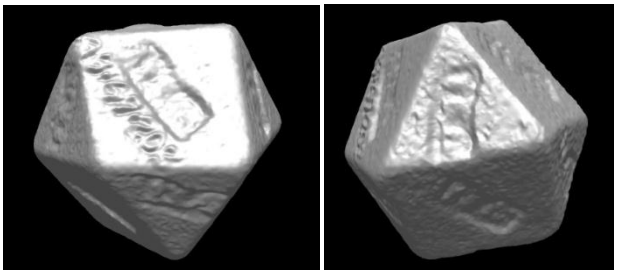
<u>49.47.203- die</u>

Image 6.10: 49.47.203- die (Courtesy of NML image archives)

> '14 sided bronze polygon, each side stamped (apparently with a seal), used as a weight or die" North Syria, material: bronze.'

No documentation has been located regarding the accession history of this tetradecagon die. It is not specifically mentioned in either the 1911 (IAL, 1911) or the 1931 loans list (Antiquities Dept. archives, WM, NML). However there are various mentions of deposited groups of objects without further descriptions, of which this artefact might have been part. It is not mentioned specifically within the Aegean and Hittite Gallery guidebook either; an associated reference card was not located in archives (Antiquities Dept. archives, WM, NML). Considering it has 14 (triangular and square) facets and is composed in metal I have been unable to find any *comparanda*. The closest comparative dice are from 'New Kingdom Egypt' (c. 1200BC) (Hayes, 1959, p. 405). An icosahedron (20-faces) from Dakhleh Oasis has been discussed by Minas-Nerpel (2007) who suggests a demotic divinatory role using an intricate numerical system. This is disputed by others such as Stadler (2006). These Egyptian dice are rare and made of ceramic with differing symbols painted upon each of the 20 sides (Dales, 1968, p. 18). Other dice were discovered by Woolley at Ur (Woolley, 1934, pp. 44,79) dating from around the same period as Garstang's excavations (i.e. Bronze Age) but they are not similar to this particular item. Hittite texts do appear to mention the practice of rolling dice for divination

and there are various Biblical references to the practice of “casting lots” using dice (Tagger-Cohen, 2002); Psalm 22 suggests that the practice was very common however none describe this type of object. Natural, modified and manufactured astragali (animal knucklebones) seem to have performed the role of dice in Anatolia from the Chalcolithic period onwards for the use of divination or gaming by casting and rolling (Greaves, 2012). I therefore submitted it for analysis at the National Conservation Centre for non-contact 3-D laser scanning to understand its physical form and utility better.



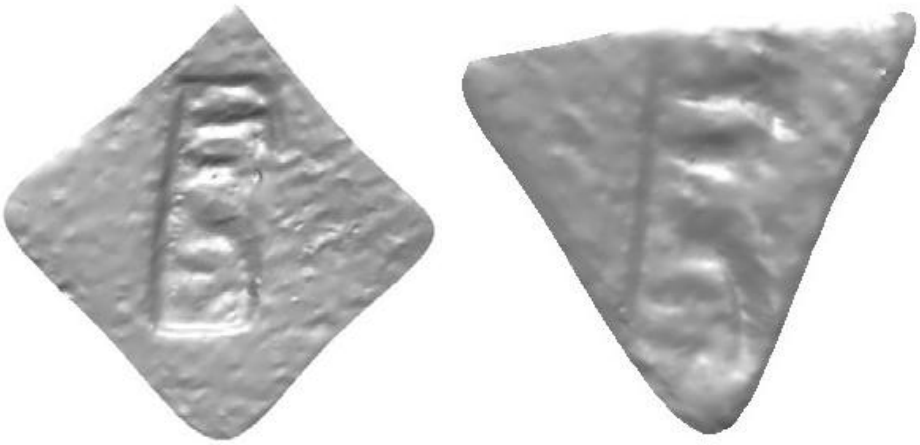
Images 6.11: L to r: 2 of 14 3-D scans of the Garstang die taken by the NCC (Ref.: La Pensée, NCC, NML)

The symbols on each side are too shallow to be distinguished by the naked eye. They appear to be some sort of cuneiform yet the exact form, depth and spacing of each stroke is significant for correct interpretation of the meaning of cuneiform inscriptions. Furthermore the symbols from the faces needed to be viewed side-by-side, which is difficult when dealing with a 14-sided dice. The method of marking the die with each symbol is also of significance when identifying the production method used and giving a production date. The over-all design of each side in relation to the others tells of its design and intended use.

The interpretation of the markings required linguists of ancient languages such as Luwian, Assyrian, Hattic and Hurrian. Due to variations of interpretation specialist assyriologist Magnus Widell of the UoL was consulted. This is where 3-D laser scanning performed by the NCC came in useful. Looking at the scanned images, and indeed the 3-D object on screen one can see the markings in relation one another,

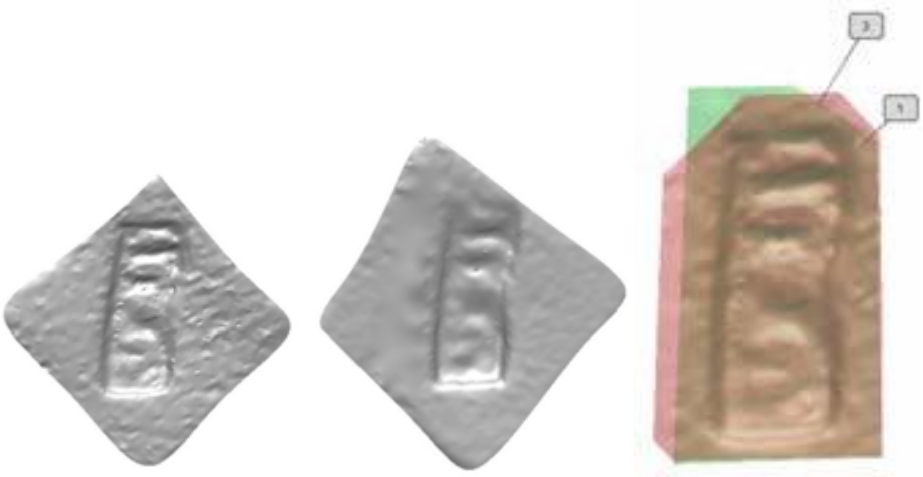
as they are located on the die. One can also see easily that the die would not have rolled very well suggesting either purposeful weighting or bad craftsmanship.

The digital images allowed for closer inspection of the individual square and triangular facets and each individual stamp marking upon each. It was immediately apparent that a single stamp was designed to fit on the square sides; however it was also used on the triangular facets disregarding the unsatisfactory result achieved through the use of a single unmodified stamp for every facet.



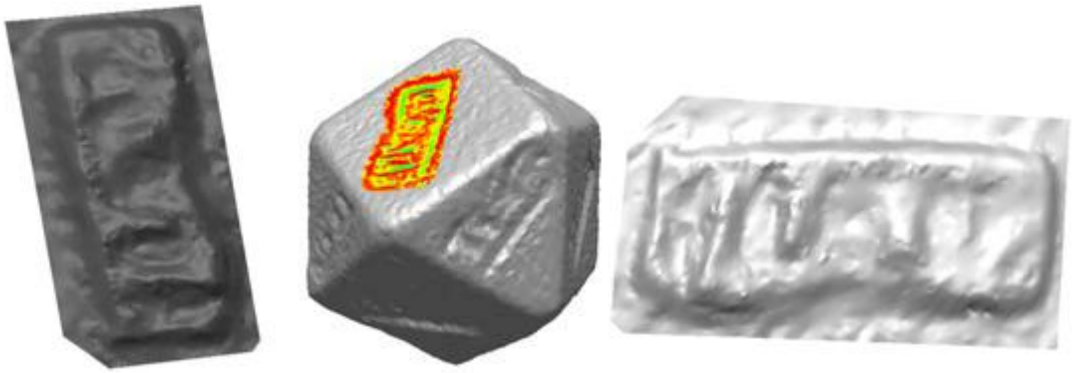
Images 6.12: L to r: Examples of isolated stamp upon square and triangular facets of the die (Ref.: La Pensée, NCC, NML)

The software allowed for a magnified view of the digital image of the stamped symbols highlighted with a racking light effect. The two best recorded facets were identified and the stamps isolated. They were tinted in red and green respectively and overlaid upon each other. The deviation map recorded a discrepancy of -0.15mm and +0.2mm (La Pensée, 2010) which suggests these symbols were created by the same stamp.



Images 6.13: L to r: Facet 1 and facet 3, symbols isolated, magnified, tinted and overlaid (Ref.: La Pensée, NCC, NML)

This possibility was confirmed by comparing all the facets via this method. This resulted in deviation margins of no more than +0.226mm and no less than -0.298mm for the square facets and no more than +0.297mm and no less than -0.3mm for the triangular facets (La Pensée, 2010). This result indicates that each symbol did not hold a particular significance on its own, either in a numerical or in a demotic sense. Widell suggested that the left part of the symbol is outwardly similar to the LITUUS sign. This cross-cultural symbol of authority appears as a crooked staff, which in Anatolia came also to signify wisdom. It is frequently identified throughout Syrian, Palestinian and Egyptian iconography and as a hieroglyph is used as a determinative for verbs of perception, often appearing in various contexts (private correspondence, 2010). This was a well-known symbol during the 19th and 20th centuries AD which would have suggested Egyptian derivation to interested buyers, which, for the purpose of sales of antiquities in the bazaars, was considered a more desirable provenance attracting the European collectors' market (Jones, et al., 1990).



Images 6.14: L to r: Digitally scanned and enhanced images of symbol sent for translation (Ref.: La Pensée, NCC, NML)

There is a possibility that this was an amulet with some protective qualities attached to it, however no similar comparanda have been found. Dice have been mentioned in various texts though none are described as being auspicious in themselves (Tagger-Cohen, 2002). The identical symbol on all sides and the irregular die faces suggests that this artefact was not genuine and in fact sold as an early 20th century curio targeted at Western travellers and antiquities collectors markets as an Egyptian object. Similar faceted dice in stone, glass and bone have been found at Roman sites yet they feature series of numerals or symbols (British Museum 1772,0311.250, 1886,0401.1718, 1891,0624.38, 1923,0401.1184). The next step was metal composition analysis through SEM technology carried out at the University of Liverpool to determine the metal used.

The die was analysed twice by SEM to get an enhanced average reading. Results demonstrated high ratios of copper, tin and lead readings which constitute a leaded gunmetal composite (containing more than 5% Sn and 5% Zn). This composition was generally used for decorative objects as it polishes up well, typically derived from the 2nd century AD to any time until the 15th century AD (Hook & Craddock, 1996). The likelihood is that it is an early 20th century curio recycled out of a genuine Bronze Age artefact from anywhere in the Near East for the purpose of sale to the tastes of Western collectors, especially when taking into consideration the basic workmanship, and uneven weighting and uneven rolling characteristics which do not allow for determinate utility.

Accession Number	Fe Wt%	Cu Wt%	Zn Wt%	Sn Wt%	Pb Wt%	Metal
49.47.203(1st)	1.2	28.9	3.8	17.7	14.7	IA lead composite (gun metal)2nd AD>
49.47.203(2nd)	1.6	37.8	4.4	15.7	12.5	IA Lead composite (gun metal) 2nd C AD>

Table 6.6: Metal composition of 49.47.203

6.11b: Case Study 2: a Neo-Hittite stone mould - using 3-D laser scanning and resin reproductions

<u>49.47.18 – mould</u>

Image 6.15: 49.47.18 (Courtesy of NML Image archives)

> 'Original reference card number G178:
>
> Mould – 1 half of mould, for casting (?) "?? small votive shoes ??". Origin: Sakje Geuzi. Syria.'

The above artefact was given on extended loan to the Liverpool Public Museum by Garstang in February 1931 in addition to the few other artefacts he had contributed in 1929, in time for the opening of the new Hittite gallery (Antiquities Dept. archives, WM, NML). Garstang uncovered this object during excavation season 1908 at Sakçagözü (Garstang, 1908). It was photographed by him (image 6.17) as part of the excavation recording process, along with other objects from the site which were

to be sent to Hamdi Bey in Istanbul, in either sample box 'A' or 'B', for approval for export to Liverpool. Archives show that these were eventually sent by Hamdi Bey in 1910 (UoL, GM, letter copies Garstang-Pears 1908-09).

The Liverpool Public Museum staff, presumably Vaughan, who was the Hittite curator at the time, assigned it a date of Bronze Age and described as a generic mould with no further details, either from within the guidebook or the reference cards. While the mould's use was unknown to Vaughan at the Liverpool Public Museum, neither Garstang, nor Woolley, who assisted her, put forward a better interpretation than her suggestion that it was for the purpose of casting "small votive shoes" (NML, Antiquities archive, Hittite Collection gallery reference card 49.47.18). Apart from this reference card no corresponding accession records have been found at the museum. Despite this it is clear from the Sakçagözü reports, photographic archives and archived correspondence that this mould made part of the Sakçagözü excavation finds sent by Osman Hamdi Bey in 1910 (Pears-Garstang corr. 1908-09, Garstang Museum archives, UoL).

Image 6.16: Garstang's photograph of Sakçagözü finds including the axe mould, 1908 (2nd row, 2nd column) (SG-110, Garstang Museum archives, UoL)

Examination of other museums' artefact databases resulted in no *comparanda*. This appeared to be an ideal case for a collaborative conservation project with NML's National Conservation Centre (NCC). It was documented three dimensionally using non-contact laser scanning technology to identify the object that the mould would have been used to produce. The image manipulation of the 3-D data set obtained by the scanner and manipulation of the resulting images of the mould's cavity allowed the identification and interpretation of the artefact. It became apparent that the mould was designed to produce bronze fenestrated 'duck billed' axe heads. The scanned image was reproduced to generate the missing half of the mould and thus presented information on how the moulding process would have been undertaken. Due to the degree of detail the 3-D scanner was able to record various details such as seemingly odd striation marks on the mould appeared, making it clear that these would have facilitated sharpening of the bronze axe blades produced. This type of non-contact 3-D laser scanning is often perceived as a time consuming process, however, the sub-millimetre accurate data set used to identify the mould took less than two hours to produce (La Pensée, 2010).

Technology used included a Konica Minolta R7, and Polyworks and RF2006 processing software (La Pensée, 2010). A digital three-dimensional model of the mould was created using non-contact triangulation based laser scanning creating a 3-D point cloud of the artefact and then using these processing software programmes this data was converted into a triangulation mesh digitally describing the surface and allowing for various options of manipulation such as raking light effects to highlight features (La Pensée, 2010).

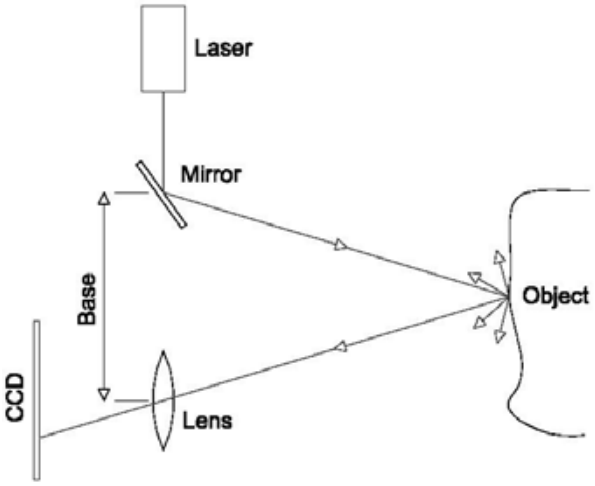
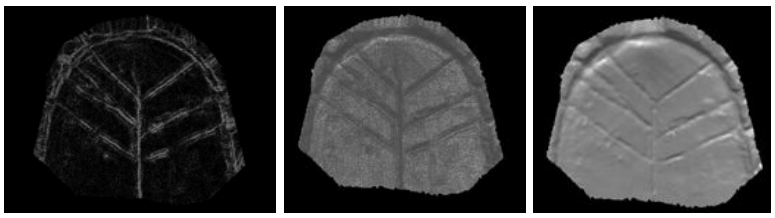
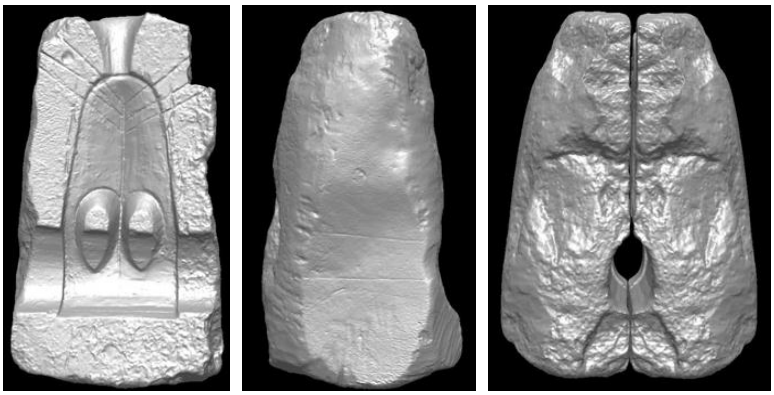


Image 6.17: 3-D non-contact triangulation scanning (Ref.: La Pensée, NCC, NML)



Images 6.18: L to r: Raw Data cloud, two processed renderings of the data (Ref.: La Pensée, NCC, NML)

The digitally reproduced images made many of the features of the mould explicable. The two small holes it became clear that they were pin holes to keep the mould sides in place while pouring and facilitating the extraction of the bronze axe once solid. The pour hole also became apparent as well as the cavity for a wooden heft, the striations for sharpening and the two central mould features which would join in the middle to create the empty windows as designed for a fenestrated axe, giving it that 'duckbill' appearance. The notches on the outside edges of the mould would have facilitated the binding of the mould halves together during pouring and cooling of the molten bronze.



Images 6.19: L to r: 3-D digital image of mould, image of reverse, image reproduced recreating a pair with missing mould half (Ref.: La Pensée, NCC, NML)

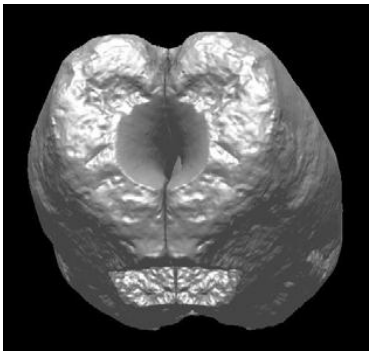
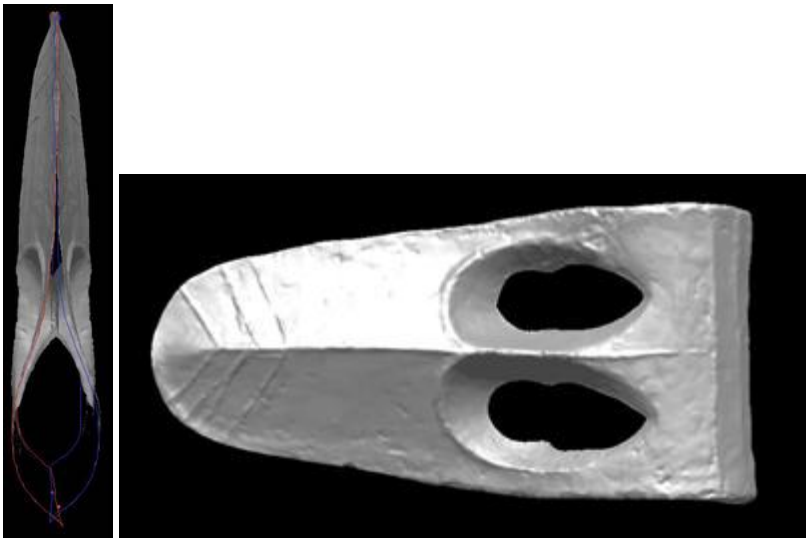
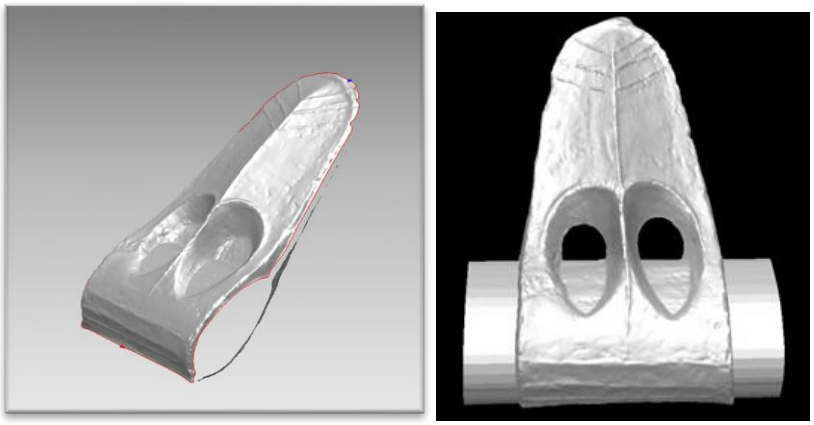


Image 6.20: Top pour hole is now apparent (Ref.: La Pensée, NCC, NML)

The software allowed a recreation of the cavity such a pair of moulds would have created using mirroring operations. With some light manipulation allowing for measurement variations of the missing mould half an image of the final product was created.



Images 6.21: L to r: Side view and plane view of the digitally recreated cavity product (Ref.: La Pensée, NCC, NML)



Images 6.22: L to r: Digital image of mould cavity with and without heft (Ref.: La Pensée, NCC, NML)

In this case the data set was used to recreate a three-dimensional resin bound plaster model of both the half mould and the axe it would have produced. This can be handled and reproduced for research and educational purposes without damaging the original object, similar to the late 19th and early 20th century sculptural 'loan casts' collections for art schools (Malone, 2010, p. 172). However there are no comparable archaeological casts collections for loans to schools.

A high quality resin axe was commissioned and displayed within the *John Garstang and the Discovery of the Hittite World* exhibition at the Victoria Gallery and Museum, University of Liverpool (2011-13) (image 6.26).

Image 6.23: Resin bound plaster model of mould and axe with heft (Ref.: La Pensée, NCC, NML)

This type of technology not only allows for accurate analysis and documentation of collection artefacts but also for the creation of digital surrogates which preserve a copy record of the artefact indefinitely.

Image 6.24: "Duckbill" axe-head, cast copper alloy, Middle Bronze Age IIA (c. 2000-1750 BC) from Sidon, Lebanon (Phoenician) (BM: 126978) (Image: Courtesy of the British Museum)

Identification of the mould using this technology has presented new questions regarding cultured networks in Anatolia as Garstang had surmised from the pottery finds (Garstang, 1908, p. 117). This aspect has been extensively discussed in other publications by Oppenheim (1954, p. 6) and Leemans (1960, pp. 8,14) amongst many others. Moulds of this type and the bronze fenestrated axe heads it would have produced have not been previously documented in Hittite sites. The closest similar finds were located at Hamā (Fugmann, et al., 1934-1958) and Byblos (Dunand, 1939, pp. 199, pl.108) in Syria, and Norsüntepe in Anatolia (Davey, 1988, p. 67). However this type of duckbilled axe is very common at contemporary Egyptian sites yet it is considered to be a distinct metalworking tradition and methodology from that found in Anatolia, Iran and the coastal regions (Davey, 1988, p. 67). This is a Levantine MBA IIA technological successor of the crescentic axehead prototype (Tubb, 1982, p. 1) and was most likely imported from Northern Syria (Özgüç, 1964, p. 42). Fenestrated axes are rare on the Anatolian plateau, although they were manufactured at Kültepe Karum. In the Levant (Canaan), North Syria (Byblos), Mesopotamia and Luristan fenestrated axes appear across various

periods. They have often been studied (Maxwell-Hyslop, 1949, pp. 119-21; Calmeyer, 1969, pp. 29, 32, 44-6, 153, 175; Muscarella, 1988, pp. 386-7; Philip, 1989, pp. 49-59; Summer, 1991, p. 179). Since conducting these examinations I have discovered a similar mould fragment held at the National Museum of Denmark, in Copenhagen forming part of the Syrian Hamā collection (Fugmann, et al., 1934-1958).

6.12: Conclusion

What these analyses confirm is that, like many of his contemporaries, he bought objects which might, or might not, have been presented to him as antiquities by villagers and traders at bazaars (Bell, 1927; Woolley, 1956; Wilson, 1989; Christie Mallowan, 1999). The fact that he did not attempt to attribute exact typologies or dates to them suggests that he was aware that these were, at best, questionable as genuine artefacts. Therefore he was buying them as curios, possibly in the hope of coming across something of interest in the process. After all it was to his benefit if locals perceived him as interested in such information and objects and thus willingly contributed to his local knowledge reconnaissance. Not having the modern analytical processes available to us, such as the ones used above, meant that there was little one could do to verify certain authenticity.

Yet, he did contribute these objects to be included in the Hittite collection display at the Liverpool museum without forwarding any further information to the curator, whilst retiring his genuinely valuable collection of Hittite seals. This reflects the relations and perceived functionality of the university and museum as they nominally occupy the same realm of institutions for public education. Garstang, as has already been demonstrated, did not hold the Liverpool Public Museum accountable to a role of archaeological educator (Chapter Four). The museum's overarching aim was clearly one of general public education by the middle classes

displayed through themes common to general working class visitors. Garstang was happy to be included amongst them, though he did not attempt to entrust artefacts which were rare or valuable in terms of archaeological research to the museum due to the obvious divergence of intentionality behind such institutions. He was aware that academic information was not within the remits of a municipal public museum.

The scientific analytical methods applied within this chapter bring this thesis of colonisation through knowledge acquisition and distribution into the present by offering the potential for opportunities of collaborative research to be held across different intellectual departments thus expanding the remits and possibilities for the future of archaeology and museology. Scientific analyses of this type push forwards the boundaries limiting those who, like Garstang, depended upon the acquisition of artefacts from the field abroad to expand their knowledge bank. Survey and excavation will always have their merits however artefacts already held in collections within close proximity can allow for a better understanding through the application of modern scientific technologies with relative ease.

Copies of the 'duckbill' axe corresponding with the mould were reproduced in resin through the process of 3-D LS digitisation for the improvement of knowledge dispersal through the use of these technologies. These copies were used within the exhibition display of 'The Hittites are Coming' at the Victoria Gallery and Museum (UoL). The copies of the 'duckbill' axe and also of the mould itself are easily transported and freely handled during educational activities without much concern for the safety of the objects. These scenarios, where exact reproduction of archaeological objects are freely utilised, enhance the possibility for democratised archaeological knowledge dispersal, improving the functionality of both museum and university as sites for the production and promotion of knowledge to the public in a way which the original 1931 'Hittite Collection' display at the Liverpool Public Museum was unable to address.

Image 6.25: Original axe mould displayed with a resin reproduction of a duckbill axe produced through 3-D LS and digitisation, 'The Hittite are Coming' exhibition, Victoria Gallery and Museum, UoL (Image: Françoise Rutland, 2013, courtesy of VGM).

Chapter Seven: General Conclusions

The intention of this thesis is to present a postcolonial understanding of socio-political contexts and developments in Britain and Turkey through the prism of John Garstang's career, and his 'Hittite' archaeology display at the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery, Liverpool. It is not meant to be a traditional biographical account of John Garstang and neither is it a comprehensive catalogue of the surviving Neo-Hittite artefacts. This thesis addresses the historiography of archaeology largely by putting forward a discursive paradigm by which to differentiate between individual archaeologists operating within a Western colonial framework hemmed in by political events, by analysing the intentionality and relationship between academia and museums during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and by extending concepts of post-coloniality to 'self-colonisation' in the context of Kemâlist Turkey through heritage rights to Hittite archaeology.

Primarily perspectives are attained through selected occurrences throughout the progression of Garstang's profession; evidence presented through his photographic record, his publications, private archives, through his personal networks and his legacies in the Near East. The evidence pertaining to the 'Aegean and Hittite Collection' gallery provides the British museological perspective on the use of archaeology at the beginning of the 20th century, as informed by the preceding Victorian and Edwardian ideals. The reading of concurrent reclaimed ownership of Hittite culture by the Kemâlists in Turkey provides further perspective into the utilisations of such knowledge at the political forefront of national self-colonisation. Archaeologists directly wielded the ability to apply the knowledge they held with real political consequences, either in support of neo-colonisation or, as was the case with Garstang, towards new modern ethics of knowledge decolonisation and native reattribution. This understanding is corroborated by the application of scientific methods of analysis available to archaeologists now, in this case, scanning electron microscopy and three-dimensional laser scanning.

During the initial phase of Garstang's career he utilised a British colonial method of networking to provide him with the opportunities to practise archaeology in Egypt, Sudan, Palestine and the Near East. He applied his political knowhow to gain employment, fund his excavations, gain excavation permit and to compile a small Neo-Hittite collection in Liverpool. What the archival and published evidence clearly indicates is that he did not act as a British agent of knowledge collection for the purpose of colonisation, this is shown by the establishment of the BSAJ and what is now the Rockefeller Museum in Palestine. He diverged from the colonialist mentality of some of his contemporaries in the field, by acknowledging the rightful inheritors of such powerful heritage. Thus he was able to establish a progressive context for international collaborative knowledge dispersal through the BIAA during the Kemâlist period.

As an academic at Liverpool, Garstang pushed to break down middle class preconceptions of intellectual exclusivity by ensuring the success of the Institute of Archaeology as part of a broadening University, holding public lectures both at the Institute and the municipal museum, establishing the Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology journal and by promptly loaning his 'Hittite collection' to the museum knowing that its scholarly value fell within the remits of such an institution. He was dedicated to his vocation as an archaeologist and appears to have held little national allegiance.

Essentially Garstang went through three progressive methodological phases throughout his career. These can be summarised as the 'colonial period' when he utilised British colonial networks to secure funding and access to archaeological sites abroad, the 'self-colonising period' where Garstang's Hittite publications and the archaeological artefacts from Sakçagözü were utilised in a Kemâlist epistemology for liberation from Western occupation, and nationalistic self-colonisation, and lastly the 'decolonisation period' when Garstang established the BIAA in Ankara under the conditions of knowledge exchange with Turkish scholars within the new Kemâlist capital city. Here he released Hittite archaeological knowledge from British ownership and returned it to the region's legitimate inheritors - the Turks.

This thesis applies modern scientific analytical methods to selected artefacts from the surviving 'Garstang Hittite Collection' which allow for a new reading of the collecting methods and intentionality of British archaeologists in the Near East during the early 20th century. These results have also highlighted the opportunities for further research on collections held legitimately in the United Kingdom today. Furthermore the opportunities for the spread of archaeological knowledge within social spheres which traditionally fail to gain from museum displays can be explored through the use of resin reproductions following 3-D laser scanning.

7.1: Discussion

Organons of social influence such as the regional public museum emerged with the decline of a religious Christian-led society (Brown, 2009). This had been precipitated by the Enlightenment period, when philosophical teachings emerged focusing the imperative for the civilization of society away from a dependence upon God and such spiritual representations, and instead emphasised self-cultivation and *epimeleia heautou* (Foucault, 2005, p. 462) through techniques of self-reflection.

During the 19th century the middle classes had appropriated the ethos once allocated to faith and pastoral leadership to apply techniques of *epimeleia ton allon* - care of others (Foucault, 2005, p. 337) - upon the lower classes as an extension of middle class beliefs for ethical self-cultivation (Ure, 2008, p. 66). The dichotomy between the proposed educational intentionality of such institutions, such as the museum, which was theoretically aimed at the lower classes and the reality of a middle class heterotopia where, the lower-classes in fact gained little, displays a split of intentionality (morals and ethics) and reality (hierarchical culture) which I propose was present within British educated society. This understanding can be reconciled through the writings of René Descartes whose discussions of methodic doubt state that the imperative of a life lived ethically is divorced from the mere possession of ethical human knowledge (Broughton, 2009, p. 7).

However the Victorian and Edwardian middle class interpretation of a self-fulfilling and self-reflective life derived directly from the Kantian proposition of a

homogenised relationship between the self and society, as presented in the *Critique of Practical Reason* (1909). Here scientific rationality was once more a device to facilitate an integrated, ethically-correct and socially responsible life (Kant, 2009). This Stoic and Kantian revivalism across Europe followed the Edwardian period in Britain and is manifested through the popular publications of scholars such as Max Pohlenz who, in 1934, argued for empires controlled by centralised and socially advantaged minorities in *Antikes Führertum: Cicero De officiis und des Lebensideal Penaitios* (Leadership in Antiquity), followed by *Der Hellenische Mensch* (The Hellenic Man) in 1947 and *Die Stoa* (The Stoics: Story of a spiritual movement) in 1949 which supported this political rhetoric of hierarchical self-controlled and self-managed civilization.

The British Museum was a component of a centralised administrative apparatus where knowledge transmitted from politically significant regions could be scientifically processed into categories of data for better management. Thus through their knowledge of geography, language, culture and recording methods, Garstang and his contemporaries held a position of political power in the Near East where the politico-social context required specialist knowledge for effective categorisation by interested Western nations. On a national level the end of the 19th century saw the well-established middle classes become concerned with responsibilities of working class stewardship. One effect was the development of the educational role museums were expected to deliver. The hierarchicisation of professional museum staff at Liverpool facilitated knowledge categorisation, better displays along themes for a common national identity, and most significantly the educational support provided to schools and through public lectures. This development had followed on the specialisation and diversification of related academic departments at universities, where high-level education was more available to a wider demographic resulting in the availability of such expert staff. Through his role at the various institutes of archaeology, his public lectures, and the placing of his Neo-Hittite collection at the Public Museum Garstang fully contributed to this ideal of fostering knowledge to as many as possible. The 'Hittite Collection' gallery presented a rather limited and thematic display, which

engendered more pride in the local contributors than knowledge of the cultures the artefacts pertained to. However this was a newly discovered ancient culture to be displayed, and available to be viewed freely. By comparison, despite the diversification of scholarship, universities were still exclusively middle class territories. In this context the value of the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery lay with the archaeologist who contributed the collection thus somewhat bridging the gap between the two divergent institutions in the service of better knowledge dissemination.

The philosophies behind the process of westernisation the Kemâlist government followed were the philosophies of Ernest Renan (1882) and Friedrich Nietzsche's *Jenseits von Gut und Böse: Vorspiel einer Philosophie der Zukunft* (Beyond Good and Evil: Prelude to Philosophy of the Future, 1886). The Kemâlists, unlike their Ottoman predecessors, recognised this source of Western power – the ability to identify and therefore administer populations for facilitation of state control. They invested their efforts into a homogenous education, secularisation and the standardisation of cultural historicity for a recreated nationality. We observe parallel lines of didactic epistemologies for a homogeneous national identity both in British and Turkish regional and national museums as the projectors of a homogenous panorama of common ground (i.e. history, science, identity) to be absorbed by the individual for social conformism. The use of Hittite archaeology and its symbols within a narrative of a common Turkish national heritage was simply one tool of many for the categorisation and management of disparate cultures.

Ironically Turkey has now progressed to its first forays into knowledge colonisation of its own with the first Turkish excavations located abroad in Kosovo led by the Istanbul's Mimar Sinan University commencing in 2012 and to continue for five years. The excavation director Haluk Çetinkaya pointed out that the greatest significance of this development in Turkish archaeology was that finally Turks were now occupying the role European archaeologists held within Turkish borders – essentially that of knowledge colonisers (Wiener, 2012).

In Europe we are, to this day, still functioning under the inheritance of the same western Hellenocentric ideology of international cultural ownership; one which apparently Turkey still aspires to. Aspects of cultural acquisition are still exhibited through modern architecture, archaeological research, museum and art exhibitions. Western countries certainly may no longer feel entitled to the material heritage of other nations but the social symbolism denoted by the exhibition of existing collections of artefacts of foreign origins that fail to contextualise and connect those artefacts to that source are essentially denying it. Similarly, academic departments whose main body of research is based upon foreign data yet who do not attempt to build a collaborative relationship with the relevant foreign institutions and communities are placing their own stamp of ownership upon internationally acquired knowledge. The quote by De Saint-Maur (1835) above would be perfectly fitting in these examples if one was to exchange the term "obelisk" with "knowledge". In 2011 a project of EU-Turkish intercultural knowledge dialogue, *Illuminating the Land of Light*, was initiated through collaboration between the Fethiye Museum and the Victoria Gallery and Museum (UoL) can constitute an example of good practice in this sector.

The argument regarding the material repatriation of collections is a convoluted and polarised one; and maybe one without a realistic chance of resolution. However this is not the subject under discussion here. What is being stated is that the 19th century ideology of colonisation through knowledge collection, processing and ownership is as politically relevant today as it ever was. The debate regarding cultural appropriation merely begins with the material heritage held abroad and that ownership is a lot more indicative of cultural beliefs than geographical locations.

The Lost Gallery: John Garstang and Turkey – A Postcolonial Reading

Volume 2 of 2

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

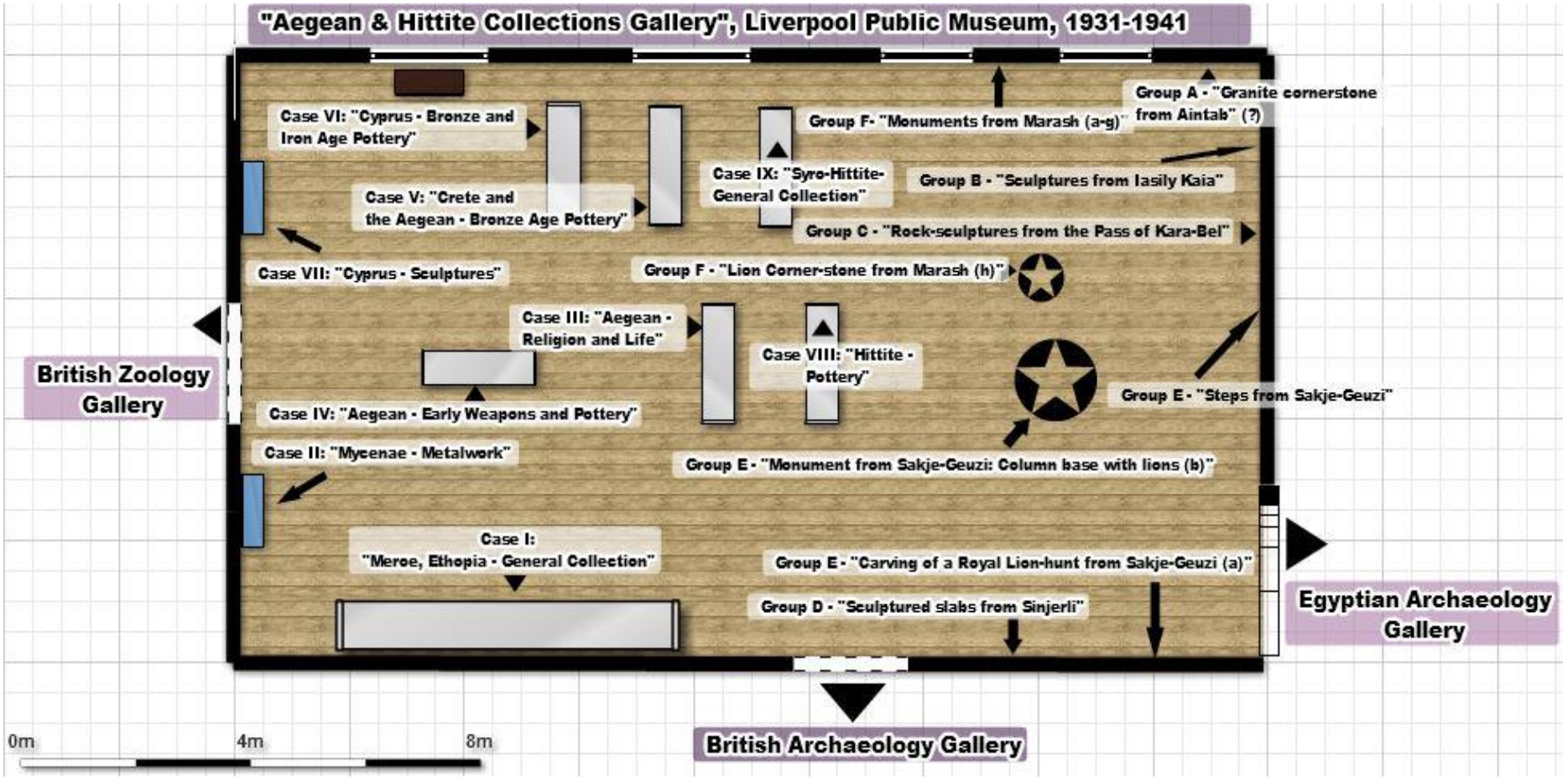
Françoise P Rutland

June 2014

The 'Garstang Hittite Collection' catalogue

Table of Contents

Appendixes


"Aegean & Hittite Collections Gallery", Liverpool Public Museum, 1931-1941
Case VI: "Cyprus - Bronze and Iron Age Pottery"
Case V: "Crete and the Aegean - Bronze Age Pottery"
Case VII: "Cyprus - Sculptures"
Case IX: "Syro-Hittite-General Collection"
Group F- "Monuments from Marash (a-g)"
Group A - "Granite cornerstone from Aintab" (?)
Group B - "Sculptures from Iasily Kaia"
Group C - "Rock-sculptures from the Pass of Kara-Bel"
Group F - "Lion Corner-stone from Marash (h)"
Case III: "Aegean - Religion and Life"
Case VIII: "Hittite - Pottery"
Case IV: "Aegean - Early Weapons and Pottery"
Case II: "Mycenae - Metalwork"
Group E - "Monument from Sakje-Geuzi: Column base with lions (b)"
Group E - "Steps from Sakje-Geuzi"
British Zoology Gallery
Case I: "Meroe, Ethopia - General Collection"
Group E - "Carving of a Royal Lion-hunt from Sakje-Geuzi (a)"
Group D - "Sculptured slabs from Sinjerli"
Egyptian Archaeology Gallery
British Archaeology Gallery
0m
4m
8m

Introduction

This volume offers a catalogue of a selection of artefacts from the 'Garstang Hittite Collection', as named by the Liverpool Public Museum in 1949, for the purpose of contextually restoring information that has been lost to us or has not been documented until now. Most of the other artefacts held within this collection have been documented by other scholars and they do not fall within the purposes of this thesis.

Firstly, I include the Neo-Hittite sculpture cast collection which was considered the most comprehensive in the country at the time (Allan, 1931). This was a collection of plaster casts produced in Berlin in 1912 taken from paper squeezes of Hittite sculpture from Yazılıkaya in 1904 and Sakçagözü in 1908 by John Garstang. They were given to the Liverpool Public Museum and subsequently displayed within the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery in 1931. These casts were lost following the Blitz attack in 1941. As this thesis explores what was lost with the end of this gallery, this catalogue aims to restore the context, provenance and significance of these casts. I follow the sculptural casts section with a catalogue of plaster impressions of seals that had originally belonged to Garstang. The original collection of miscellaneous Hittite seals has never been located despite best efforts since 1929. Despite the original seals not having made part of the 'Hittite Collection' display at the museum the impressions taken in plaster most likely did. As the original seals are missing this catalogue aims to compile the remnant information and documentation related to these plaster impressions in lieu of what is lost. This section relating to the impressions of seals in plaster is followed by a selective focus upon a few reconstructed pottery vessels which made up part of the Hittite gallery. These were produced by Garstang in Liverpool after he received the single sherds sent by Osman Hamdi Bey in 1910 (UoL, GM, letter copies Garstang-Pears 1908-1909; Garstang, et al., 1937). The display of a reproduced Neo-Hittite vessel instead of the original, which was never available, is telling of the collecting and display methods valid in this public museum until 1941.

Where possible, I have quoted and used the original reference cards for the artefacts produced by the curator for the gallery of 1931. I have referred to the original guidebook (Allan, 1931), and other archival material such as the 1911 and 1931 Institute of Archaeology specimen lists deposited at the Liverpool public museum (NML, Antiquities coll.), the Garstang Museum documents and photographic collection at the University of Liverpool (UoL, GM). These were further augmented by the National Museums Liverpool (NML) antiquities and photographic archives as well as by the Garstang field notes held at Special Collections archives at University College London (UCL, SC). Furthermore, I have follow the curator's references for each item given in 1931 and supported this information with modern publications by specialists such as Hogarth (1920), Lambert (1966), and Buchanan and Moorey (1984). See bibliography for full details. The aim is to give a reasonably full archaeological documentation of artefacts that were lost due to enemy action during the 1941 Blitz attack, a better historiographic context to the original collection, and a better understanding of the museum display of the time.

V2.1: Introduction to the 'Garstang Hittite Collection'

The 'Garstang Hittite Collection' is what the Liverpool Public Museum called what artefacts survived from the 'Hittite Collection' section of the gallery of 1931-1941. These remnants were bought from John Garstang in 1949 and accessioned under this title (NML, Antiquities coll., Liverpool Public Museum Accession register). At the time a differentiation was not made between artefacts from Hittite and Neo-Hittite periods. The items themselves had been legitimately received by John Garstang in 1910 (UoL, GM, letter copies Garstang-Pears 1908-1909) following the official sanctioned for export by the Director of Imperial Museums, Osman Hamdi Bey, according to article 32 of the Ottoman Antiquity Law of 1882. National Museums Liverpool, who own the collection and the Garstang Museum at the UoL, hold full evidence for the legitimacy of the acquisition of the components of this collection in the form of correspondence, photographic records, excavation field notes and accession documentation. A full account of the 'Garstang Hittite

Collection' is given in the introduction and Chapter Four of Volume One of this thesis.

Cast collections are now considered valuable artefacts in their own rights (e.g. Victoria and Albert Cast gallery, Cambridge Museum Classical Cast collection, Ashmolean Cast Gallery and a range of Near Eastern, Egyptian and Classical sculpture casts at the British Museum). They give insight into research, methods of collection, teaching, and museum epistemological metanarratives of the time. Within the context of this thesis this collection is important because not only was it the largest Hittite contribution Garstang made to the Liverpool Public Museum, maybe it was also the largest NE sculpture cast collection in Britain since most cast collections were of Classical sculpture, making this one very rare. It was also the fruit of many decades of travel in Turkey and Syria, with extensive collaboration between the Berlin Gipsformerei, the Archaeology Institute at the UoL and the Liverpool Public Museum. This collection represents Garstang commitment to providing the best opportunities for observing Hittite archaeology in Britain without removing it from its original find spot.

Image 1.1: The 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery, 1931 (NML, Image Archives)

Image 1.2: The ‘Aegean and Hittite Collections’ gallery, 1941 (NML, Image archives)

Image 1.3: The ‘Aegean and Hittite Collections’ gallery, 1963 (left wall upon entrance) (NML, Image archives)

Image 1.4: The 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery, 1963 (right wall upon entrance) (NML, Image archives)

The four photographs above are the only visual evidence we have for the Hittite cast collection at the Liverpool Public museum. The first image (1.1) is as it was upon inauguration in 1931 where the casts visible are the sphinx column base in the foreground and the head of Augustus in the Meroë display Case I on the left. There are some Hittite casts hanging on the left wall. These are only clear in the third photograph (image 1.3). The second image is from the 1941 salvage operation. It is not clear who the people are, possibly Dr. Douglas Allan, the director, is one of them. One can hazily observe casts still attached to the far wall; the uniformed figure furthest away is inspecting something upon the sphinx column base and there are a group of three plaster casts attached to the left wall between the corner and middle windows (see image 1.4 for post-war remains). The third and fourth photographs are from 1963, the museum was still a derelict shell with the photographer standing in the basement where the African Gallery was once situated. Even at this late stage five casts were still attached to the walls (image 1.3) with contrasting paint where others went missing (images 1.3 and 1.4). Using these records one can get a sort of 360 degree view of the original Aegean and Hittite Gallery of 1931 and the Hittite casts within.

V2.2: Garstang Hittite sculpture plaster cast collection

This catalogue will not be presenting research into the sculptures themselves, it looks into the biography of the casts as components of a collection which resulted from a particular set of circumstances, utilising reference cards, guidebook commentary, photographs and other publications.

The 1929 reference cards as compiled by Ms Dorothy M Vaughan are considered an artefact of the 1931 to 1941 lost 'Hittite Collection' gallery and here I reproduce them as part of this catalogue as they were presented to scholars at that time. I have copied the records *ad verbatim* and have not attempted to correct, modernise, clarify or improve upon Vaughan's text in any way. The intention is to catalogue relevant lost pieces from the 'Hittite Collection' as presented to the Liverpool Public Museum by 1931.

In 1929 the reference cards were reproduced various times to be included within sections relating to 'Hittite Costume', 'Hittite Weapons', 'Hittite Language' and 'Hittite Religion' as was necessary. She provided a bibliography for each card. These generally included Garstang's 1910 publication *The Land of the Hittites* and the revised version of 1927, also Felix von Luschan's (1902) *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli: Thorsculpturen*, Pottier's (1924) *L'Art Hittite,* as well as various Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology publications and other authors as she saw fit.

Below Vaughan's cards transcriptions I have added images, information and references as I was able to locate them by cross-referencing with the original exhibition guidebook, the Garstang Museum photographic collection and various museum websites for images of the original stele. The Berlin Gipsformerei's online Near Eastern cast catalogue has been referred to for images of the original stele moulds. Two of the original cards could not be located. I have use the same numerical sequence as used by Vaughan and included Garstang's excavation number, where available. The above catalogue principles are applied throughout this volume in all sections. In the case of the collection of plaster impressions of

Hittite seals, I have used the modern NML accession numbers as Vaughan's reference cards cannot be located.

Catalogue

1 – Rock-carving (Kara-Bel)(modern Karabel)

> '3 casts, forming reproduction of rock-carving. Total height 2.52 cms; greatest width 1.44 cms. Subject – Warrior-god with conical hat, short tunic, short-sleeved vest, high boots turned up at toes. Carries triangular bow and long staff or spear; dagger or sword with aescentic hilt. Hieroglyphics in the field. Original, in relief within niche of rock-face on Pass of Kara-Bel, between Ephesus and Smyrna, 1300BC. See *Land of the Hittites*, Pl. LIV, pp. 171-3; and *Hittite Empire*, pp. 177-9; and fig.12; also Sayce in J.R. A.S. 1927, p. 701 for decipherment of hieroglyphics. For Hittite hieroglyphics generally see Cowley, *The Hittites* (Schweich Lectures 1918), and refs. There: for fresh work on inscriptions see Olmstead, Charles and Wrench, Vol. I, part II, *Hittite Inscriptions*. See also Sayce in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (J.R.A.S.), No.4, 1927, p. 699, "The Moscho-Hittite Inscriptions", and translation of this inscription, p. 701 *"- Work of Tutis, of the country of Ksumba, the high-priest."* Maker's number 1133 (1, 2, 3)'

Image 2.1: The cast mould at Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1133

This was a three-piece cast of the sculpture still in place in the Karabel Pass between Ephesus and Smyrna in Turkey. The guidebook refers to Herodotus (ii., 106) who believed it to represent the Egyptian Sesostris. The carving is dated c. 1290 B.C. In his 1910 book discusses Herodotus' description of it and how he was recounting hearsay rather than an actual visit to the site agreeing with Sayce ((Sayce, 1880, pp. 66-8; Garstang, 1910, p. 172 and plt.LIV). This site was discovered by the Rev. G.C. Renouard of Sydney College, Cambridge University in 1817, and

then further reported by Dr. von Eckenbrecher, M. Borrell, sketched by Charles Texier (Schmitz, 1844, p. 232) in 1834 (Jensen, 1903, p. 756) and various others. This site was initially photographed by Mr Svoboda and the squeezes for the above mould were taken by Sayce in 1879 with an entourage of thirty armed soldiers to protect him (Sayce, 1880, pp. 54-6). I am aware that the date for Renouard's discovery differs from that given by Sayce (1880, p. 55) but the various later authors have quoted Sayce. Gertrude Bell travelled to and recorded this site on the 6th of April, 1907 (http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/diary_details.php?diary_id=518). This relief has now been shown not to be of Sestoris, but a local ruler called the king of Mira (Hawkins, 1998, p. 2).

2- Lion, forming cornerstone (Marash) (modern Maraş)

> 'Lion cornerstone, cast of. Height 63.5cms, length 89.5cms: thickness 29cms. Body and legs in relief; head and shoulders in the round. Inscription covers whole side. From Marash c. 900BC. For discussion of style and treatment see *Hittite Empire* p.223; and see further references given within. No. 11 in this section, and generally, discussion of art-periods in Hogarth, *Kings of the Hittites'* (Schweich Lectures, 1924)'

Image 2.2: Maraş Lion mould (image from the Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1050)

Image 2.3: Maraş lion cast (British Museum, C.31 http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00181/AN00181027_001_l.jpg)

Vaughan did not appear aware that the British Museum owned a copy of this cast since 1885 and had been on display since 1892 within the then Central Saloon (Wallis Budge, 1900, p. 27). Yet Garstang refers to this cast in his 1910 publication (Garstang, 1910, p. 110). The 'Aegean and Hittite Guidebook' does not offer any details regarding the script engraved upon the sculpture. It is labelled as item 'h'

(Allan, 1931, p. 28). The original is held at the Istanbul Archaeology Museum, Turkey (http://www.istanbularkeoloji.gov.tr/archaeological_museum).

V2.3: 'Ceremonial Feasts' Casts:

The next five reference cards (nos. 3-6) refer to five scenes of 'Ceremonial Feasts' from the Maraş region. The guidebook does not go into further detail than simply stating that these feasts might have been votive or funerary rites with a deity and a worshipper involved. Attention was drawn to costume, head-dresses, furniture and musical instruments (items a-e) (Allan, 1931, p. 28). The references to Garstang's 'The Hittite Empire' (1927) provided on the cards by Vaughan allowed for detailed explanation and context for the interested visitor.

3- Sculptured Slab (Marash) (modern Maraş)

> 'Slab sculptured in low relief, cast of. Basalt or dolerite. Height 100cms, greatest width 77cms. Subject – Ceremonial Feast: Hieroglyphics in the field. From Marash, c. 1050 – 850 BC, thereabouts of. See *Hittite Empire,* pp. 224 -5, fig. 18. "Costume" and "Religion" and "Writing". Maker's No. 1051.'

Image 3.1: Ceremonial Scene from Maraş (image from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1051)

4 – Sculptured Slab (Marash)(modern Maraş)

'Slab sculptured in low relief, cast of. Original carved in basalt. Height 53cms, greatest width 44cms. Subject – woman seated at table, child on knee; holds over table lyre surmounted by bird. Original in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. From Marash, c. 1050 – 850. See *Hittite Empire*, p.230, fig. 19, and refs there given. See also under "Religion" and "Costume".'

Image 3.2: Maraş mother goddess ceremonial scene, original of cast e (Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York)

5 – Sculptured Slab (Marash)(modern Maraş)

'Slab sculptured in low relief, cast of. Height 76cms, width 74cms. Much worn. Subject – Mother-goddess, seated at table, with standing priest holding bird. From Marash c. 1050 – 850 BC. See Hittite Empire, p. 231, fig. 20.'

Image 3.3: Ceremonial scene with mother goddess and priest holding a bird, image from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1052

6 – Sculptured Slab (Marash)(modern Maraş)

'Slab sculptured in low relief, cast of. Height 80cms, width 61cms. Very smooth – worn. Subject – standing figure holding bow over table. From Marash. See Hittite Empire, p. 231.'

Image 3.4: Figure holding a bow or lyre over a table from Maraş (image from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3, object 1054)

7 – Sculptured Slab (Marash)(modern Maraş)

> ‘Slab sculptured in low relief, cast of. Height 90cams, greatest width c.45cms. Subject – small worshipper before tall figure of god (mostly broken away); table of offerings; below, attendant leading horse. Original is in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. From Marash 1050-850 BC. See *Hittite Empire*, p. 232-2, fig. 22 with refs; also under “Religion” and “Costume”, “Weapons”.’

Reverse:

> ‘See further: Carl Humann and O Puchstein , 1890, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*. Berlin: Reimer. pl. XLVII, 5; J W Meyer, fig. 31; G Perrot and C Chipiez, ***“****Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité: Égypte, Assyrie, Perse, Asie Mineur, Grèce, Étrurie”,* Rome, Paris: Hachette**,** 1882**:** fig. 282; Sayce, *The Hittites, the Story of a Forgotten Empire*, pp. 72-73-5’

Image 3.5: Feasting scene with table, lion, and horse image from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1058

This was item ‘e’ within the guidebook. It simply states that this is a man shown leading a horse (Allan, 1931, p. 28).

8 – Sculptured Slab (Marash)(modern Maraş)

> ‘Slab sculptured in low relief, cast of. ; fragment. Greatest length 68 cms, width 66cms; irregular oval. Subject – front of chariot, with hind part of horse;? dog, beneath horse. From Marash 1050-860 BC. See *Hittite Empire*, p. 233 and refs.’

Image 3.6: Maraş Chariot scene, image from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1053

This was item ‘f’ described as a rough carving of a horse and chariot. There seems to have been another item included in this group ‘g’, which was a group of hieroglyphic signs (Allan, 1931, p. 28). Though the card for this has not been located.

9 – Sculptured Slabs (Sakje-Geuzi)(now Sakçagözü)

> '3 casts of slabs forming royal hunting scene. King in chariots, two attendants, lion. Fairly high relief; pronounced Assyrian style. Height c. 1.20cms; length 2.78cms. Original in *Vorderasian Museen zu Berlin*, No. 971. From Sakje-Geuzi Late; 9th or 8th century BC. See *Land of the Hittites*, pps. 103-4 and Pl. XXXIX, and *Hittite Empire*, pp. 262-4, and Pl. XLVI, for full description and references to earlier publications.'

Image 3.7: Sakçagözü Chariot hunting scene mould, image from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1049

Image 3.8: Garstang's 1907 photo of Sakçagözü Hunting Scene from (Garstang, 1910, p. plt. XXXIX)

The guidebook states that this is a Royal lion-hunt in Assyrian artistic style. A king, marked by the winged emblem, shoots from a two-horse chariot with possibly a god and huntsmen slaughtering the lion (Allan, 1931, p. 28).

V2.4: 10 – Sphinxes: Sculpture in the round (see image 1.1)

'Cast base of column, resting on two sphinxes carved mainly in the round. Pedestal decorated with edging of fingers, the nails upwards. Front 1.16cms x side 1.50cms x height 84cms. From Jobba Eyuk, small mound of Sakje-Geuzi, c. 850 BC. See *Hittite Empire*, pp. 273-5, and Pl. L; op. 267. Cf. Also Koldewey in *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli,* I-III, pp. 156-7 and T. XXXIII, and v. Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* ill. IV, pp. 338-541 and T. LV, LVI. Discussion in Pothier, *L'Art Hittite*, ("Syria", Vol. V, pp. 1-8, and separately, Paris, 1926). For details of excavation see Liv. Ann. Vols. I and II.'

Images 4.1: Garstang 1908, Sakçagözü Portico, Sphinx column base (front, back and side views) (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-063 and SG-059)

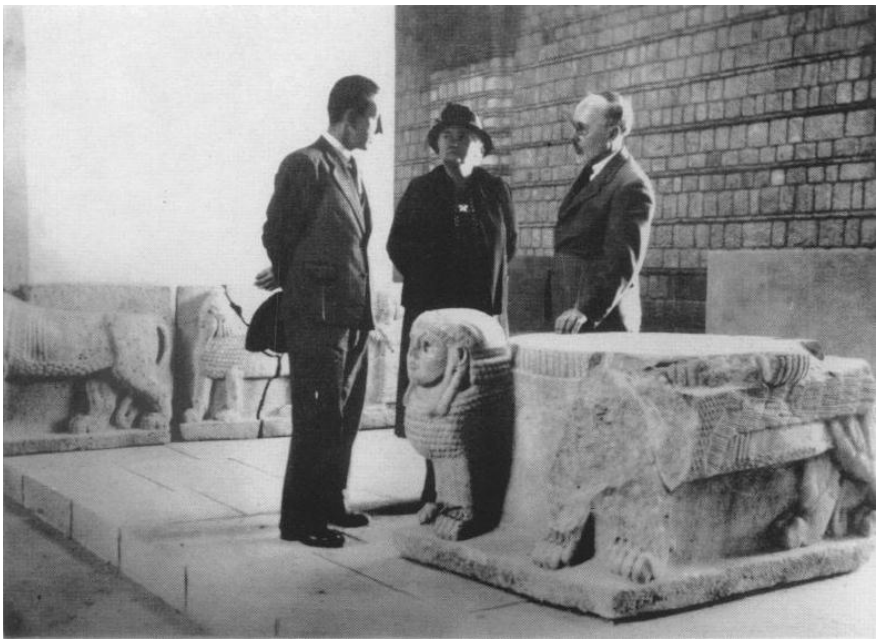


Image 4.2: Prof and Mrs Garstang with Dr Koşay at the original Sakçagözü column base within what is now known as the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, 1940s (Güterbock, 1956)

Card numbers 11 to 17A below refer to one single reconstruction of the Sakçagözü entrance way (left side) where the above column base was found. The description within the guidebook is not detailed and they are collectively labelled as group 'b'. It skims over each item with scant description. The main point which comes across is that the artistic style and images represented are of Assyrian derivation (Allan, 1931, p. 28). Similarly Vaughan did not provide an individual card for each cast. However she did provide references for further reading.

11- Lion, forming cornerstone (Sakje-Geuzi)(now Sakçagözü)

'Lion, forepart in the round, rest in high relief, forming corner-stone. Cast. Length 1.40cms x height 0.98cms x width 0.41cms. From right hand tower of Palace portico, Sakje-Geuzi c. 850BC. See Hittite Empire, pp. 267-8, Pls. XLVII and XLVIII and cf. Also *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, I-III pp.230 – 236, T. XLVI, XLVII and LVIII, and IV, pp. 341-2, 369-72, T. LVII, LXIV, LXV, and Puchstein, *Boghaz-Koi,* pp.74-6, and figs. 53,54, T. 23 and 24.'

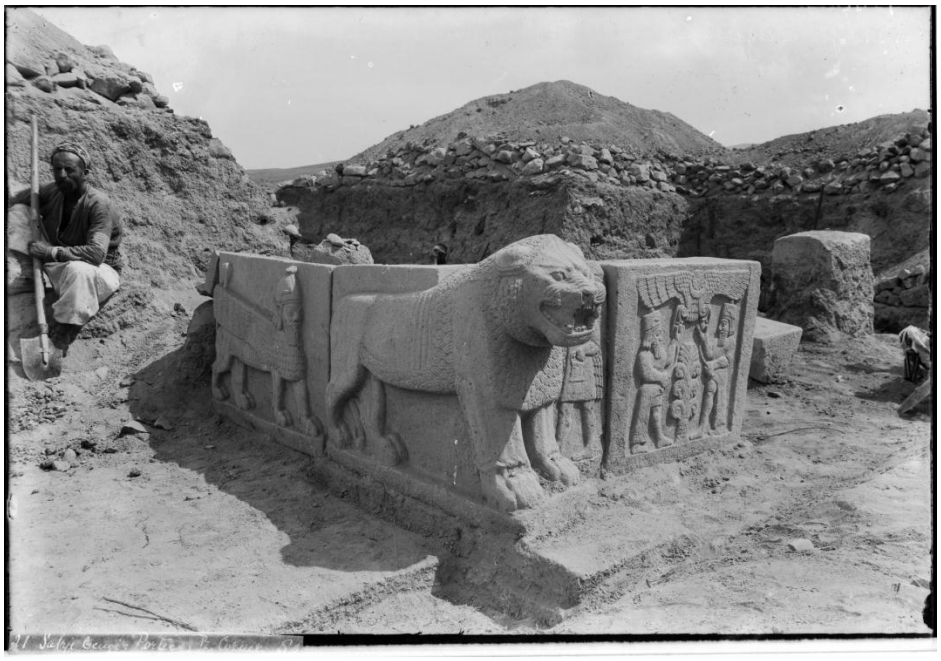


Image 4.3: Garstang, 1908: Sakçagözü Portico, Lion corner-stone (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-044)

No photograph of the corresponding cast or mould is available.

V2.5: 12-17 – Sculptured slabs (Sakje-Geuzi)(now Sakçagözü)

Series of 6 slabs (casts of) adorning Portico. Fairly high relief; marked Assyrian influence:

No. 12: Eagle-headed winged deity – 82 x 36cms

No. 13: Fertilisation of sacred Tree – 82 x 82cms

No. 14: (angle stone) Winged sphinx – 82x1.09cms, (second face) Attendant with bird – 82 x x53cms

No. 15: King holding cup – 82 x 31cms

No. 16: Attendant with fly-whisk – 82 x 31cms

No. 17: End of fly-whisk on no. 16 - 82 x x19cms

See *Hittite Empire*, pp.268 – 273, with accompanying illustrations and references. General discussion of these sculptures by E. Pothier, *L'Art Hittite*, Paris, 1926 (or as article in 'Syria', Vol. V, pp.1-8) Details of excavation, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Vols I and II*. From Sakje-Geuzi c. 850. Originals in situ, buried again.

Image 5.1: Garstang 1908, Sakçagözü Portico: from left to right: Number 12 Eagle-headed winged figure, Number 13 Fertilization of Sacred Tree (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-049)

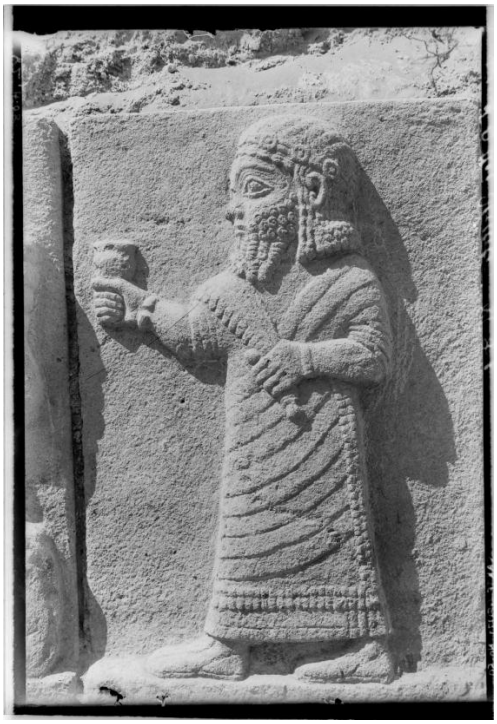


Image 5.2: Garstang 1908, Sakçagözü Portico, Number 15 King holding cup (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-069)

Image 5.3: Garstang 1908, Sphinx Sakçagözü Portico Corresponds to Number 14 Angled stone Sphinx (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-070)

Image 5.4: Garstang, 1908, Sakçagözü Portico: left to right: Numbers 16 and 17; Number 14 (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-072)

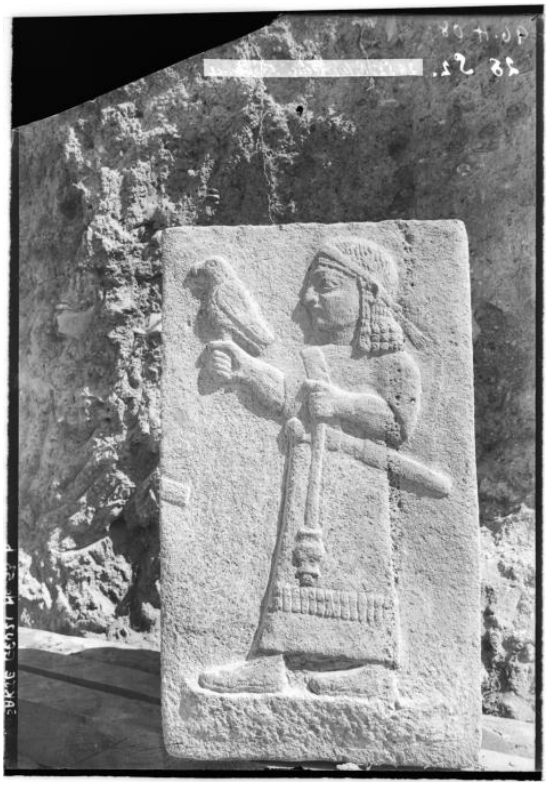


Image 5.5: Garstang 1908, Sakçagözü Portico, Number 14 (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-073)

Image 5.6: Garstang, 1908, Sakçagözü Portico (ref.: UoL, GM, SG-055)

V2.6: 17A – Steps, carved (Songruz Hüyük) (now Sonrus Höyük)

‘Cast, 2 steps, carved with rosettes and decorative emblems. Width 45cms x length 75cms. Height of each stair 19cms. From Portico, Sakje-Geuzi, c. 850. ‘

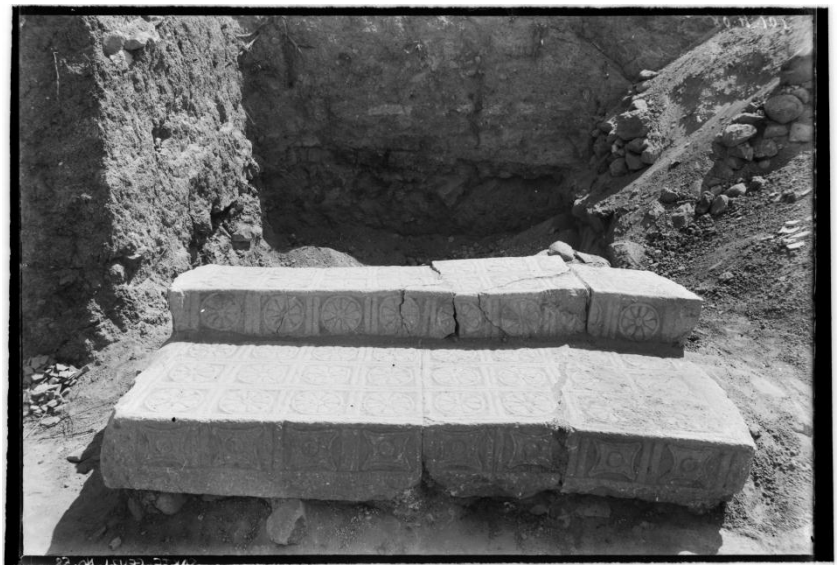


Image 6.1: Garstang’s 1911, the steps were found at Sonrus Höyük (ref.: UoL, GM, SG-079)

V2.7: 18-24, 51, 52 – Group of Sculptures forming decoration of Gateway (Sinjerli) (modern Zincerli)

'Set of 9 casts, selected sculptures from the Outer Citadel Gate, Sinjerli. Carved dolerite. For dimensions see individual cards (listings below). Originals – half in Berlin, half in Constantinople. Bibliography – original publication of excavations by von Luschan, Koldewy and others, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, I-IV, with figures and plates. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Cheliter*, 1914, pp. 49, seqq; Hogarth, *Kings of the Hittites*, (Schweich Lectures 1924), pp. 4-20; Pothier, *L'Art Hittite* (first appeared in "Syria", for Sinjerli see Vol. II, pp. 9 seqq.) Full description and some illustrations in Garstang, *Hittite Empire*, pp. 239-262' plan of gateway, with reference numbers, ill. p. 245. (ref. on individual cards, abb. Plan H.E.). Also to dates, authorities vary. The slabs are thought to belong to various periods (Nos. 18 and 22 considered oldest) and to have been disarranged and re-used in antiquity'

18 – Sculptured Slab (Sinjerli)

'Cast of slab sculptured in relief. Height 1.40cms, breadth 1.13cms. Subject – Hittite warrior fully armed. Original in Berlin. From Outer Citadel Gate, Sinjerli. Date ? 14th century. (Garstang and Pothier, 1910) No. II, Plan HE.; *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, p.213, T. XL. and see refs on general card.'

Image 7.1: Warrior King with sword, lance and shield image from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1197

19 – Sculptured Slab (Sinjerli)

'Cast of slab, sculptured in relief. Height 1.17cms x 93cms. Subject – lion-headed figure holding up rabbit, birds perched on arms, called by excavators the 'God of the Chase'. From Outer Citadel Gate, Sinjerli. Original in Berlin. No. VI, Plan H.E., and p. 249. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* pp. 225-6, figs. 126, 127; refs on general card'

Image 7.2: Lion Headed Hunter with eagle and game image from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1186

20 – Sculptured Slab (Sinjerli)

'Cast of slab sculptured in relief. Height 1.35cms x 1.01cms. Subject – winged sphinx, lion body and human head. From Outer Citadel Gate, Sinjerli (?) 1000-800BC. No. XVII, Plan H.E., and p. 254. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli p. 222,* figs 122-3 and refs on general card. Maker's No. 1193.'

Image 7.3: Human Headed Sphinx image from the Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1193

21 – Sculptured Slab (Sinjerli)

'Cast of slab sculptured in relief. Height 1.38cms x 44cms. Subject – woman (? goddess) in long robe and cloak or veil. From Outer Citadel Gate, Sinjerli,? 1000-800 BC. No. XXIII, Plan HE., and p. 25? *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* p. 218, T. XLI.i and refs as general card. Maker's No. 1198.'

Image 7.4: Female with mirror image taken from the Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1198

22- Sculptured Slab (Sinjerli)

'Cast of slab sculptured in relief. Height 1.32cms, width 66cms. Subject – Teshub with trident and hammer. Original in Berlin. From Outer Citadel Gate, Sinjerli, ? 14th/13th century BC. (Garstang and Pothier). No. XXII, Plan HE., p.255, and Pl. XLV,i. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* p.216, T. XLI, i. Other refs as general card. Maker's No. 1188.'

Image 7.5: Warrior King image taken from the Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1188

23- Sculptured Slab (Sinjeli)

'Cast of slab sculptured in relief. Height 1.19cms x 61cms. Subject – eagle-headed male figure with drooping wings and raised arms. From Outer Citadel Gate, Sinjerli. No. XX, Plan HE., op. p. 255. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli,* p. 215, T. XLII. Maker's No. 1189'

Image 7.6: Eagle-headed male, Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1189

24- Sculptured Slab (Sinjerli)

> 'Cast of slab sculptured in relief. Height 95cms x 85cms. Subject – two-headed winged sphinx. Von Luschan suggests (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli, loc. cit.)* that we have here the origin of the biblical Cherub. From Outer Citadel Gate, Sinjerli, 1000-800B. No. XXX, Plan H.E., and p. 258. (N.B. Similar sphinx on that page is from Carchemish, not Sinjerli). Maker's No. 1195.'

Image 7.7: Two-Headed sphinx image taken from the Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1195 (to be joined with object 1196)

This makes one half of one Zincirli sculpture. The other half is represented below card number 51. It is not clear why Vaughan numbered the cards so differently from each other. The guidebook regards the Zinjerli items in two groups: the 'Early slabs' (a) and the 'Later slabs' (b). The 'Early slabs' (labelled a to c in the guidebook) refer to item numbers 18, 21 and 22 above while the 'Later slabs' (labelled d to h) refer to items 19, 20, 23, and 24. It does not offer further information other than the slabs were found disarranged though the 'Early slabs' were of the Hattic Imperial period and the 'Later slabs' were of Assyrian derivation (Allan, 1931, p. 27).

V2.8: 25-50 and 53 – Rock-carvings, group of, Iasily Kaia (modern Yazılıkaya)

'Dimensions etc see individual cards. The sculptures reproduced constitute –

A. Main scene from Divine Marriage, meeting of two processions: Nos. 26-44.

B. Section of figures from processions: Nos. 45-5-, and 53.

C. Group from Inner Sanctuary: No. 25. These sculptures are early – perhaps as early as 15th century BC - and provide the types and criteria of Hattic (as opposed to Mitannian-Hittite or Syro-Hittite) art.

See Garstang, *Hittite Empire,* pp. 95-119, with accompanying illustrations' and for general reviews, see specially plan on p. 102 and pls. XXI, XXII, XXIII (i) and XXIV. Special refs on individual cards. See also Bibliography, *Hittite Empire*, p. 338, Boghaz-Keui.

Supplied by authorities of *Köningliche Museum* in Berlin, Maker's Number: 1044'

25 – Carving (Iasily Kaia)

'Casts forming reproduction of rock-carving. Height 1.71cms x 1.32cms. Subject – Priest-King in the embrace of the Youthful God. From the Small Gallery, Iasily Kaia. *Hittite Empire*, pp.109-110 and fig. 7'

Image 8.1: A deity embracing a Priest-King, from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1037

Image 8.2: Garstang, 1907 photograph of 'deity embracing a King/Priest' (Ref.: UoL, GM, HIT-IK-034)

The guidebook generally skims over the symbolism and figures mentioned in the other cards, however in this case it refers to the same symbols being represented upon the Hattic signet-ring with which a famous treaty with Egypt was signed in 1288 B.C. (Allan, 1931, p. 21). It was obviously deemed worth mentioning the popular reference point that the average museum visitor might have been familiar with.

26 – Rock-carving section of Iasily Kaia (modern Yazılıkaya)

'Subject – head of Chief God, leader of procession; no.1 on left; diagram Pl. XXIV, H.E. Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 90cms x 56cms (shape: irregular). Maker's No. 1044 From Main Gallery, Iasily Kaia 1300BC; or earlier.'

27 – Section of Iasily Kaya

'Body of chief god, with forepart of animal wearing Hittite hat. Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. (Height 57cms x width (b) 69 cms and (t) 58cms). Diagram Pl. XXIV, H.E. Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief.'

28 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 80cms x 100cms at bottom, 80cms at top. Subject – robes of worshippers supporting feet of Chief God. Diagram Pl. XXIV, H.E. Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief.'

29 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 87cms x 61cms. Subject – head of Mother-Goddess, leader of procession, No.1 on right, diagram Plate XXIV, HE. *Hittite Empire* p.104. From Large Gallery, Iasily Kaya. (?) 1300; or earlier.'

30 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 64cms x 57 cms. Subject – hands of Chief God and Mother-Goddess holding religious emblems. Iasily Kaya. Diagram Pl. XXIV, HE, and p.104'

31 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 82 cms x 57cms. Subject – skirt of Mother-Goddess and part of lioness on which she stands. Iasily Kaya. Diagram Pl. XXIV, HE, and p.104.'

32 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasiy Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 86cms x 55cms. Subject – fore-part of lioness supporting Mother-Goddess. Diagram Plate XXIV, *Hittite Empire* p.104. Iasily Kaya.'

33- Rock-carvings, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 50cms 7 78cms at base, 70cms at top. Subject – feet of chief god resting on bowed heads of two

worshippers. Diagram Pl. XXIV, H.E. Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief.'

34 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 88cms x 57cms. Subject – lioness supporting Son-god. Figure No. 2 R on diagram, Plate XXIV, *Hittite Empire*; also p.104. Iasily Kaya.'

35 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height – 63 cms x 57 cms. Subject – head of priestess, figure No. 4R on diagram. Pl. XXIV, *Hittite Empire*; and p. 105, Iasily Kaya.'

36 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 59cms x 57cms. Almost blank – fills middle section of space between chief god and Mother-goddess. Iasily Kaya.'

37 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 66cms x 58 cms. Subject – body of Son-god. Pl. XXIV, *Hittite Empire*, also p. 104. Isily Kaya.'

38 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 71 cms x 64cms. Subject – head of Youthful God or Son-God. No.2 R on diagram, Pl. XXIV, *Hittite Empire*, also p. 104, Iasily Kaya.'

39 and 40 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'2 casts of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 85 cms x 51cms (39); 85 cms x 57 cms (40). Subject – left-hand and right-hand portions of double-eagle supporting priestess, figs. 3 and 4 R on diagram. Pl XXIV *Hittite Empire*; also p. 105. Iasily Kaya.'

41 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 63cms x 54cms. Subject – Upper portion of portion of priestess. No. 3 R on diagram, Pl. XXIV, *Hittite Empire*; and p. 105. Iasily Kaya.'

42 - Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 61cms x 54cms. Subject – Lower portion of portion of priestess. No. 3 R on diagram, Pl. XXIV, *Hittite Empire*; and p. 105. Iasily Kaya.'

43 – Rock-carvings, section of Iasily Kaya

‘Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 57 cms x 52 cms. Subject – part of robe of Mother-goddess, and part of head of lioness supporting Son-god. Iasily Kaya. Diagram Pl. XXIV, HE, and p.104’

44- Card missing

Image 8.3 ‘Assembly of the Gods’ image from the Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 item 1044.

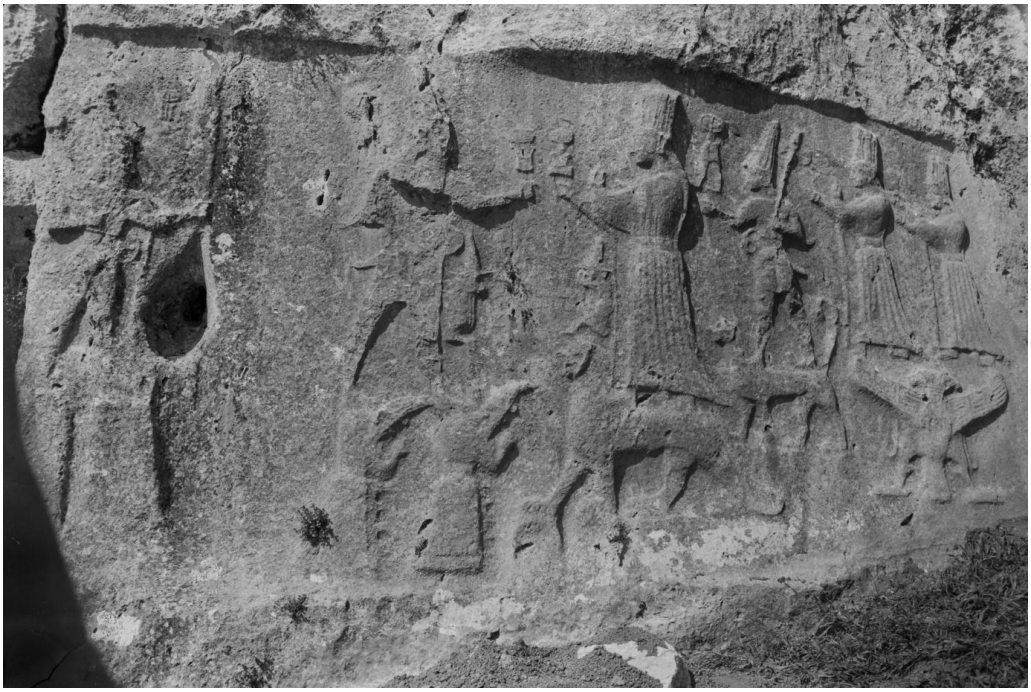


Image 8.4: Garstang's 1908 photograph of the 'Assembly of the Gods' sculpture at the Yazılıkaya site (Ref.: UoL, GM, HIT-IK-007)

The individual cast mould pieces are described in detail below in Ms Vaughan's reference cards numbered 26 to 44. The guidebook describes this item as an assembly of gods at a 'Divine Marriage' featuring Teshub and a mother-goddess; with references to other similar symbolism found elsewhere (Allan, 1931, pp. 26-27). Arguably the Yazılıkaya sculptures, the pseudo-Sestoris from Karabel, and the Maraş Lion were the only Hittite images the visitor might have been familiar with. They had been sketched, painted, photographed, casts and publications Iss.d since the early 1800s. Both Vaughan and Garstang extensively quoted these references. Modern scholars who have written about these sculptures include Paul Henze (Henze, 1958), Robert Alexander (Alexander, 1986), Anna Klynne (Klynne, 1996), and Jesse Chariton (Chariton, 2008).

45 – Rock-carvings, section of, Iasily Kaia (modern Yazılıkaya)

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 90cms x 62 cms. Subject – winged deity in heavily-draped robe, No. 5 L in diagram, Pl. XXIV, *Hittite Empire*; and p. 99. In procession behind Chief God. From Large Gallery, Iasily Kaya. (?); or earlier. Maker's No. 1041'

Image 8.5: Winged Deity (no. 45) from the Yazılıkaya sanctuary, image from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 item 1041

Image 8.6: Garstang 1907 photograph of Yazılıkaya site (ref.: UoL, GM, HIT-IK-030)

46 – Rock- carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

‘Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 100cms x 73cms. Subject – two monstrous figures supporting crescent-shaped object; Nos. 14 and 15 L, Pl. XXIV, *Hittite Empire*; and pp. 100-101. From Large Gallery, Iasily Kaya (?) 1300; or earlier. Maker’s No. 1039’

Image 8.7: Horned figures (no.46) holding up a crescent or eagle image from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1039

Image8.8: Garstang 1907 photograph of Yazılıkaya site (Ref.: UoL, GM, HIT-IK-017)

47 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

‘Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 82cms x 71cms. Subject – two female figures carrying (?) mirrors; Nos. 6 and 7L, Pl. XXIV *Hittite Empire*; and p. 99. From Large Gallery, Iasily Kaya. Maker’s No. ??’

Image8.9: Figures from procession image from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3, object 1042

Image 8.10: Garstang, 1907 photograph of procession at Yazılıkaya site, (Ref.: UoL, GM, HIT-IK-014)

48 – Rock-carving section of Iasily Kaya

‘Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 85cms x 68cms. Subject – figure surmounted by winged rosette, holding reversed lituus and group of emblems. No. 9L, pl. XXIV, *Hittite Empire*; and pp. 99-100. From Large Gallery, Iasily Kaya. (?) 1300; or earlier.’

Image 8.11: King surrounded by emblems image from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1034

Image 8.12: Garstang 1907 photograph of Yazılıkaya site, symbol top right corner. (ref.: UoL, GM, HIT-IK-027)

49 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 90cms x 83 cms. Subject – group of marching male figures, bearing sickle-like weapons, similar to Nos. 31, 42, Pl. XXIV, *Hittite Empire*, but actually from Inner Sanctuary. See Pl. XXXIII b, and pp. 108-9, op. Cit. Iasily Kaya, (?) 1300; or earlier. Maker's No. 1038.'

Image 8.13: Part of a twelve-figure procession, image from the Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1038

Image 8.14: Garstang, 1907 photograph Hittite soldier procession at Yazılıkaya site (Ref.: UoL, GM, HIT-IK-035)

50 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

'Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 80 cms x 37 cms. Subject – female figure or priestess from procession following Mother-goddess, Nos. 6 seqq. Pl. XXIV, *Hittite Empire*, and p.105. From Large Gallery, Iasily Kaya. (?) 1300 BC; or earlier. Maker's No. 1035.'

Image 8.15: Female figure from procession, image from Berlin Gipsformerei catalogue number 3 object 1035

Image 8.16: Garstang, 1907 photograph of procession at Yazılıkaya site (Ref.: UoL, GM, HIT-IK-025)

V2.9: 51 – Sculptured Slab (Sinjerli)(modern Zincirli)

'Cast of slab sculptured in relief. Height 90cms x 71 cms. Subject –royal figure, bearing two club-like objects. From Other Citadel Gate Sinjerli, 1000-800BC. No. XXVII, Plan H.E. and p. 257. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* p.227, fig. 132. Other refs as general card. Maker's No. 1196.'

Image 9.1: King holding weapons, image from the Berlin Gipsformerei Catalogue number 3 object 1196

52 – Card Missing

After extensive research into Vaughan's references, descriptions and Berlin cast catalogues it appears that this should have been a copy of card 24 above.

53 – Rock-carving, section of, Iasily Kaya

‘Cast of part of rock-carving in high relief. Height 64 cms x width at base 63 cms. Subject – Lead/Head of priest-king from procession following Mother-Goddess (not shown on Pl. XXIV) No.22, schedule, p. 103. From Large Gallery, Iasily Kaya. See *Hittite Empire*, fig. 6, p. 106, and pp. 111-12. Maker’s No. ??’

54 – Sculptured Slab (Sakje-Geuzi)(modern Sakçagözü)

‘Slab sculptured in low relief; much worn. With frame, 79cms x 79cms (given by Humann and Puchstein, loc. cit. As 80x76cms). Subject – Ceremonial Feast. From neighbourhood of Sakje-Geuzi. See Liv. Ann. I, p. 101-2 and Pl. XXXV. Also Humann and Puchstein, (1890), *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyri.* Berlin: Reimer, p. 376, fig. 55.’

Image 9.2: Garstang’s 1907, Ceremonial scene sculpture Sakçagözü (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-112)

56 – Sculptured Corner-stone (orthostat)

‘Corner-stone, one face sculptured, one face bearing hieroglyphic inscriptions (see under “Writing”). Dimensions – c. 50x30x36cms. Subject – part of male figure (portion of leg and tunic) about life-size, and in action. From Aintab. C. 1300, Hattic Imperial period. See *Hittite Empire*, pp. 312-13 and Liv. Ann. 1908, pp. 7and8, Pls. X and XI.’

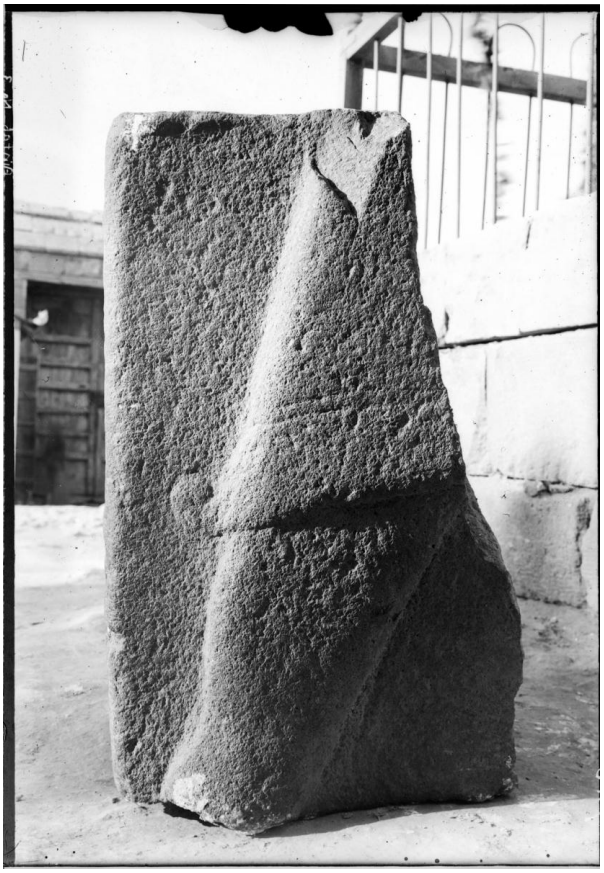


Image 9.3: Garstang’s 1907, Obverse of Aintab inscribed corner-stone (Ref.: UoL, GM, HIT-AI-003)

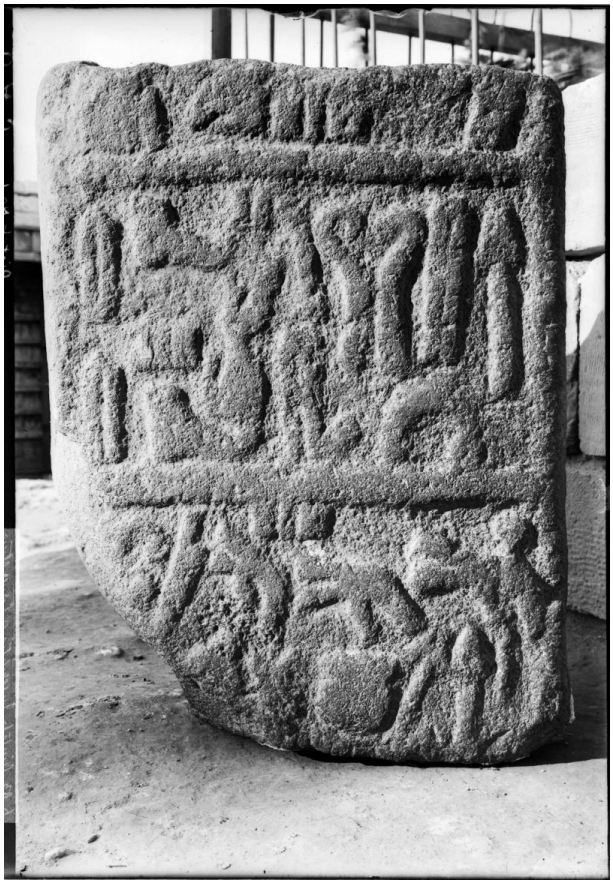


Image 9.4: Garstang, 1907, granite corner-stone from Aintab (ref.: UoL, GM, HIT-AI-001)

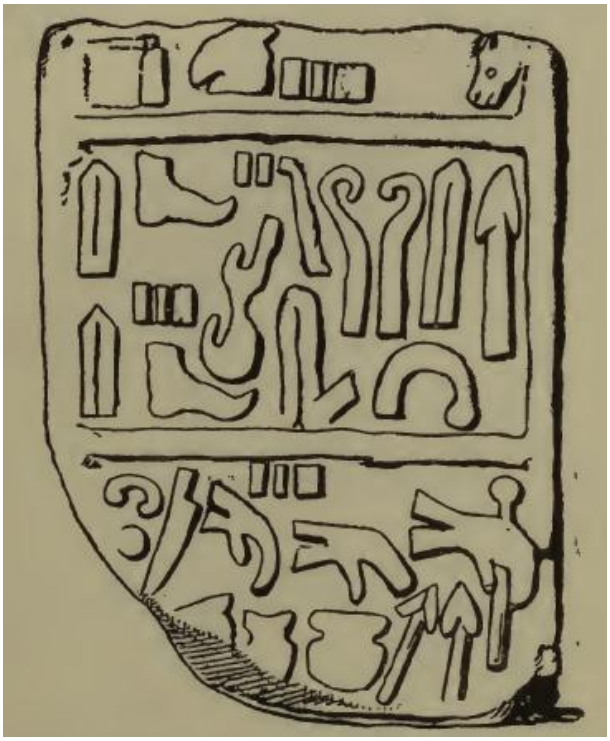


Image 9.5: Garstang's transcription of the Aintab corner-stone (Garstang, 1908, pp. 7-8) Plate X

In 1908 these inscriptions had not been translated yet (Garstang, 1908, p. 8). However by 1910 Prof. Sayce had suggested a translation as 'This (monument) erecting to the god of my country'. The inscription was on three panels. The other side depicted a man's leg from thigh to knee wearing some sort of tunic (Garstang, 1910, p. 107). This is the same artefact which is described in the Hittite sculpture gallery of 1931 as the only original monument in the collection (Allan, 1931, p. 26). This object was not recovered after the May Blitz of 1941 and is still lost.

V2.10: The Garstang plaster impressions of Hittite seals

Sakçagözü (Çoba Hüyük and Sonruz Höyük) excavation context

Songrus, now Sonruz Höyük, is a mound close to Sakçagözü in the Gaziantep province in Anatolia (Aksan, 2001). This was identified as mound B in the 1908 report, described as the largest and most interesting mound at there. Due to its size Garstang did not manage to excavate here until 1911. During 1908 he concentrated his efforts upon another mound close by, that of Jobba Hüyük, now Çoba Hüyük (Garstang, 1908, p. 100; Von der Osten, 1930, p. 179).

Image 10.1: Garstang, 1911 Sonruz Höyük excavations (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-122)

During the 1911 season Garstang excavated at Sonruz Höyük where various occupation layers were uncovered dating from the 1st century until at least 15000 B.C. It featured complete Seleucid and later Hittite ashlar buildings with towers and gateways comparable to those found at Sinjerli, various residential houses, interior buildings and surrounding walls. Various Neo-Hittite seals, Syro-Hittite vessels and a figure wearing a 'Phrygian hat' from a Mithraic group (image 10.2) were also found here (Garstang, 1913a, pp. 65-68). The 1911 loans list mentions all the above items (IAL, 1911, p. 5) however it appears that they were all removed by

1929 as the site and its pertaining objects are not mentioned within the 1931 Aegean and Hittite Gallery guidebook. A plaster copy (49.47.19) of the figure below is however still extant within the NML Garstang Hittite Collection with no corresponding reference card.

Image 10.2: Garstang 1911, Mithraic figure from Sonruz Höyük as photographed for the Ottoman Antiquities department (ref.: UoL, GM, SG-128)

V2.11: The Garstang impressions taken in plaster of Hittite seals

The following is a catalogue of the plaster seal impressions of a Near Eastern seal collection held on loan at the Liverpool Public Museum until 14th June 1929 (NML, Antiquities coll.). This was removed from the premises by Garstang and it has never been located despite many attempts made. Garstang had collected seals from various bazaars and dealers while travelling in Turkey and Syria over many seasons (Garstang, 1908; Garstang, 1950). It is not clear if the plaster impressions were taken as a record of what Garstang was about to remove or if they had made up a display alongside the originals. No documentation has been found however it was customary at the time that a seal collection would be displayed with plaster impressions alongside (e.g. Seal collection at the *Nationalmuseet*, Copenhagen (Ravn, 1960). Few of the seal impressions held reference cards with an introductory card stating that these were from Case Z which was opened with key 12 and held Prof. J. Garstang's Hittite objects from various sites in Asia Minor and North Syria (NML, Antiquities coll.). There is not a Case Z mentioned in the 1931 guidebook (Allan, 1931) and I can only surmise that this was a research collection reserved for scholars by application to the curator.

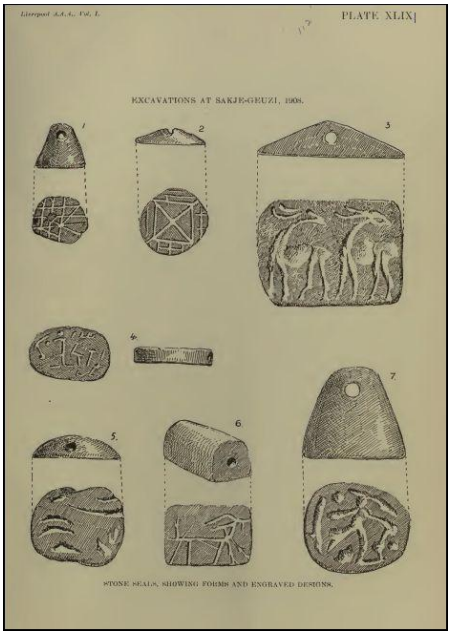


Image 11.1: None of the impressions within this cast collection correspond to the seals illustrated above in the LAAA volume 1 from Sakçagözü, 1907 (Garstang, 1908) which suggests that they were not held by the Liverpool museum at any point.

Image 11.2: Garstang, 1908 Sakçagözü objects as photographed for the Ottoman antiquities department (ref.: UoL, GM, SG-182). Corresponding with the LAAA illustration above.

Image 11.3: Garstang, 1908-11: Sakçagözü small finds photographed for the Ottoman Antiquities department. Top row: 49.47.20, 49.47.131d,g,h; 49.47.132a.i and unknown. Bottom row: 49.47.21, 49.47.132n and unknown. Sakçagözü (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-256)

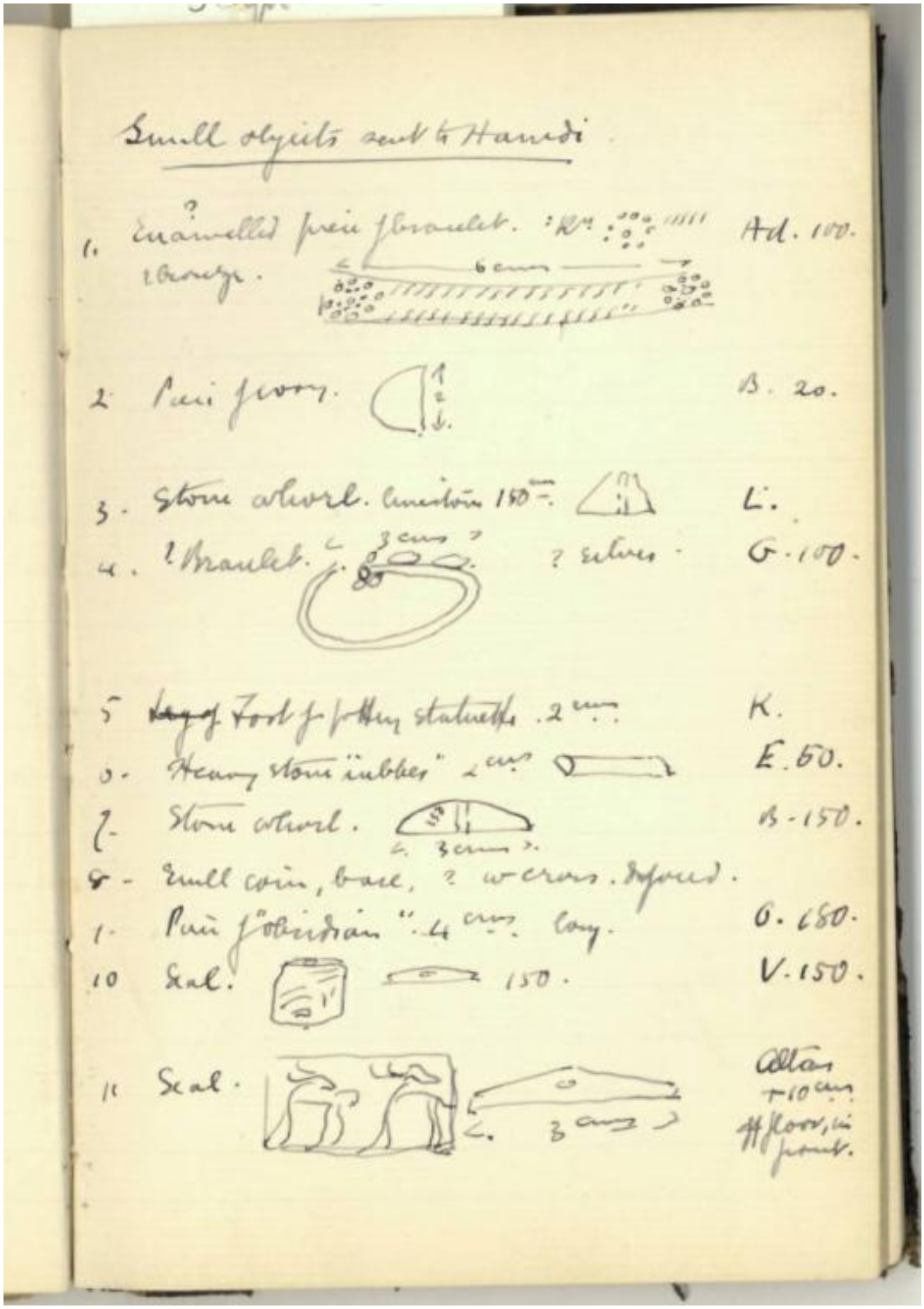


Image 11.4: Garstang excavation diary entry titled: '*Small Objects sent to Hamdi*', 1907 (UCL, SC, Garstang, UCLCA/IA/A/17)

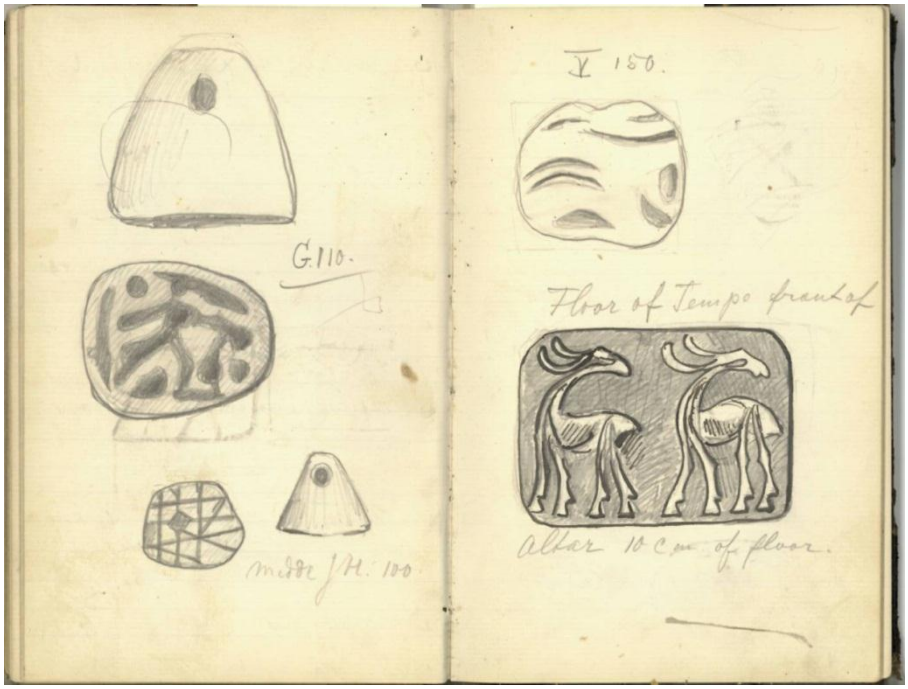


Image 11.5: Garstang Excavation Diary, 1907 (UCL, SC, Garstang, UCLCA/IA/A/17)

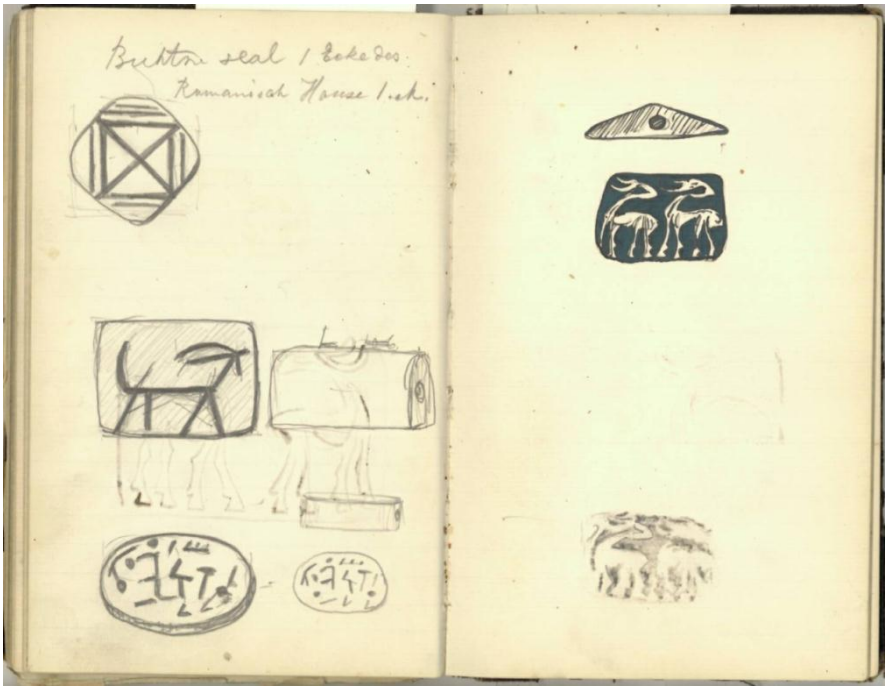


Image 11.6: Garstang Excavation Diary (UCL, SC, Garstang, UCLCA/IA/A/17)

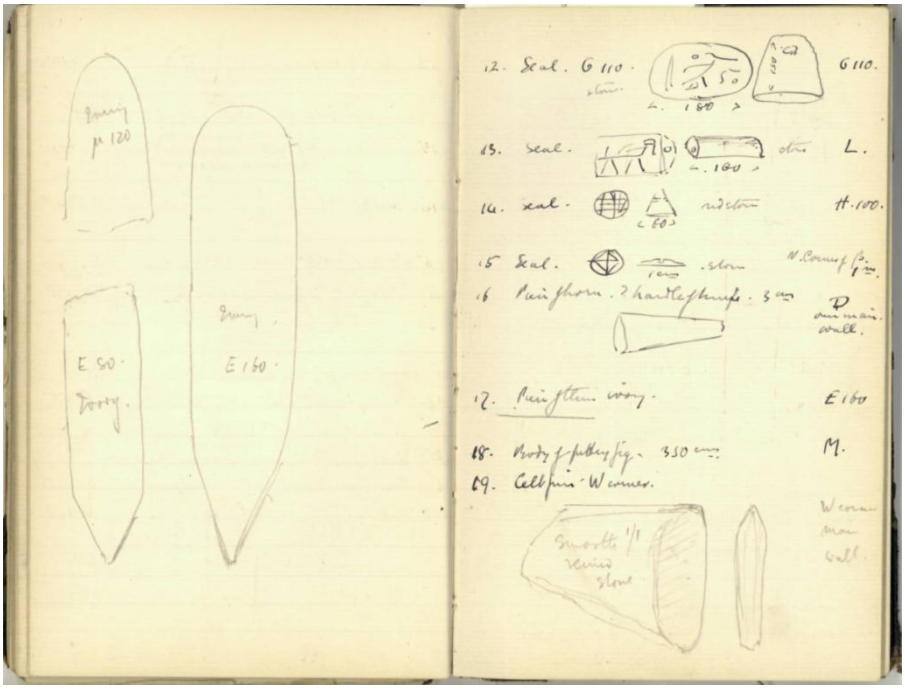


Image 11.7: Garstang Excavation Diary, 1907 (UCL, SC, Garstang, UCLCA/IA/A/17)

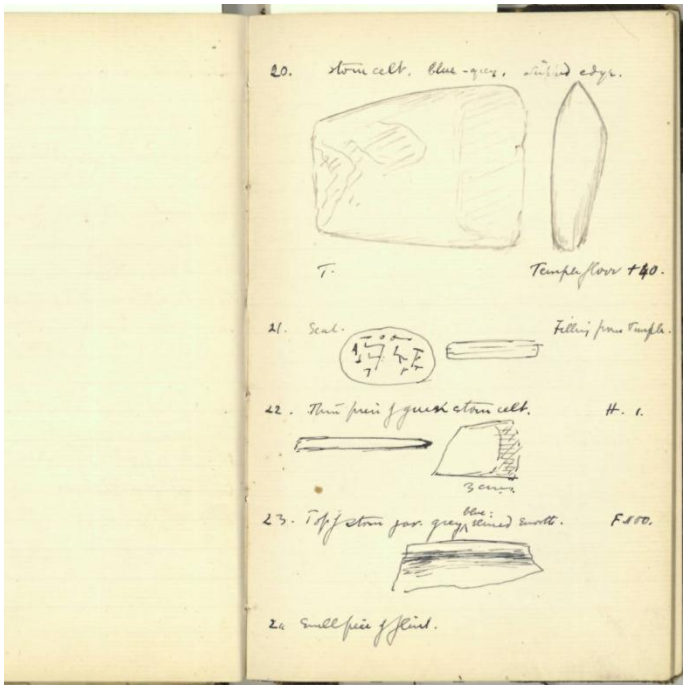


Image 11.8: Garstang Excavation Diary, 1907 (UCL, SC, Garstang, UCLCA/IA/A/17)

For this section I refer to a 1911 loans list from the Institute of Archaeology sent to the Liverpool public museum (NML, Antiquities coll.; UoL, GM) to identify the impressions taken in plaster of the missing Hittite seals. This list is rudimentary, with little description or detail making positive identification questionable (IAL, 1911). The 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' guidebook makes no reference to seals or seal impressions within the 1931 display at all (Allan, 1931) however a later museum guide mentions Babylonian and Assyrian seals and tablets (Committee, 1937). They might have been held in Case Z, mentioned above, however this cannot be ascertained and no further details are provided. The numbers labelling each item are NML's collection accession numbers (these start with '49.' because the plaster impressions were bought and accessioned in 1949 by the museum from Garstang) and the original seal collection has not been located. The NML accession numbers are not in any particular numerical order as the numbers have not been allocated according to artefact type and do not follow any discernible logic even when viewed as part of the entire 'Garstang Hittite Collection'.

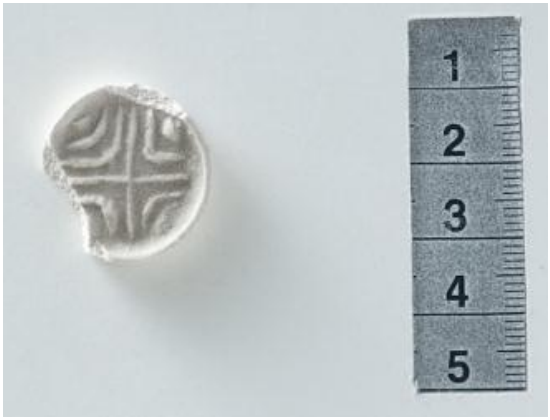
Where available, I have transcribed the exact reference cards as compiled by Vaughan in 1929 including her standard location spellings. I do not attempt to correct or otherwise alter the original reference cards.

V2.12: The Garstang plaster impressions of Hittite seals collection (All seal cast images are courtesy of NML image archives):

The 1911 loans list mentions a cylindrical seal, a seal and a plaster cast of a seal from the Çoba Hüyük mound, this was dug in 1908 (Garstang, 1908). Furthermore, another ten plaster seal impressions from Sakçagözü are listed. No further details are provided and the original collection has not been located. I refer to each impression taken in plaster by the modern NML accession number.

The following plaster impressions of seals (49.47.21 and 49.47.132n, 49.47.132e, 49.47.132y) are typical of North Syrian and Mesopotamian 'pebble' seals of the Amuq A and B horizons comparable to Tell Arpachiya and Tepe Gawra Halaf period dating from the sixth millennium B.C. Chronologically they would have been the earliest seals of the collection. They are very widespread across the Near East and the designs persist into the fourth millennium B.C. (Buchanan and Moorey, 1984, pp. 1,2).

49.47.132y



Bulla impression in plaster (broken) featuring stylised geometric design. Generally found in north-eastern Syria and Iran.

49.47.21 – Seal cast

Original reference card:

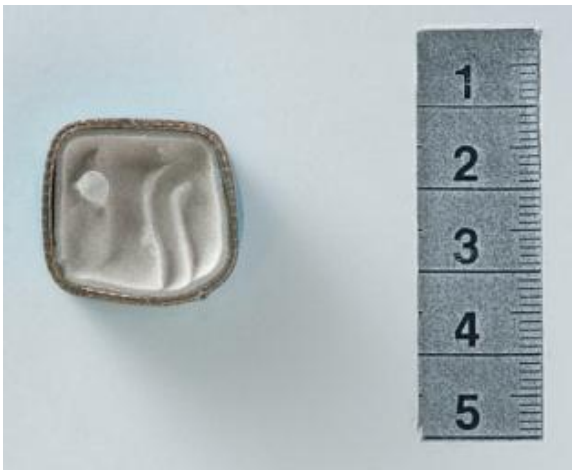
> ‘Impression taken in plaster- round with central boss showing hole in the seal, surface divided into sections, marked with criss-cross patterns. Jobba Hüyük. Sakje Geuzi. Syria.’

Circular impression taken in plaster with central boss which indicates pierced original for suspension. It features an 8-wedge segment design with crosshatching, zigzag and dots. The back is marked ‘Jobba: area S. Gate’ and can be seen in image 11.3 (Garstang, 1908, p. 107).

49.47.132n

Impression taken in plaster of seal with stylised design. Original was pierced on either side for suspension. ‘Sungrus’ inscribed on back. Probably from the Songrus mound of Chalcolithic age dating circa 4000 – 4500 B.C. Original seal was a flat discoid of grey stone with a roughly incised design probably from the 1911 season since it features on later illustrations but not the 1908 photograph (see above).

49.47.132e



Bulla impression taken in plaster with stylised lines. ‘Killiz’ inscribed on back. Probably of Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age circa 4000 – 3500 B.C. from the Kilis region.

The following plaster impressions of seals (49.47.20 and 49.47.132k 49.47.132r 49.47.132o) are typical of later prehistoric stamp (Late Ubaid) seals from Syria, north Mesopotamia and western Iran namely the Zagros regions, as well as sites like Tepe Gawra levels XIA-VIII and Tepe Giyan and the Parchinah 'Luristan group'. They appear quite late in localised areas since Arpachiyah, Nineveh and Erbil comparable sites to the Tepe Gawra level VIII yield cylinder seals (Buchanan and Moorey, 1984, pp. 5,6).

49.47.20 – Linear Design

Original reference card:

> 'Seal impressions - positive and negative impressions, wolf (?). Jobba Eyuk. Sakje Geuzi. Syria.'

Positive and negative plaster impressions of cuboid seal featuring a stylised quadruped (wolf/stag). 'Jobba' inscribed on the back, probably from the Chalcolithic period dating circa 4000 – 3500 B.C. from Sakçagözü. Original gable seal was of grey basalt with through piercing, discovered at Çoba Hüyük during the 1911 season. It appears in illustrations dating 1911, but not the 1908 photograph (see above).

49.47.132k – Linear Design

Square plaque impression taken in plaster featuring a quadruped animal (stag?) with a branch across. 'Aleppo' is inscribed at the back. Most likely of Hittite Old Kingdom dating 3000 – 2900 B.C. from the Syrian border regions. Three seals are listed in the 1911 loans list for Aleppo. One of them was a black stone quadrangular with a 'winged horse' (IAL, 1911, p. 4). It is most like the one which produced the impression above.

49.47.132r – Figured Design

Convex discoid or bulla impression taken in plaster featuring a stylised standing figure. 'NEOZ' inscribed on the back. Probably of Chalcolithic age dating circa 4500 – 3500 B.C. from the Syrian borders. This is the opposing face of impression 49.47.132o.

49.47.132o – Figured Design

Convex discoid or bulla impression taken in plasterfeaturing a stylised winged quadruped (sphinx?) probably from the Chalcolithic age dating circa 4500 – 3500 B.C. from the Syrian borders. This is the opposing face of impression 49.47.132r above.

The following impressions taken in plaster appears to be the product of late prehistoric imported type from the southern Mesopotamian and Susiana regions dating from the middle fourth to late third millennium BC. 49.47.132s is comparable to the seals found at Kish in 1923-33 (Moorey, 1978; Buchanan and Moorey, 1984, pp. 26-7). However the chronology remains unclear.

49.47.132s – Drilled style

Bulla impression taken in plaster featuring stylised lion and stag (?) probably from the Chalcolithic age dating circa 3500 – 2000 B.C. bought from the Syrian Arab border regions.

The following impressions taken in plaster (49.47.131e, 49.47.132m and 49.47.132c.i) are typical of late prehistoric period to Early Bronze age from north Syria and Anatolia from the Amuq E horizon and Gawra levels XIII-XII and comparable to Woolley's Tell-esh-Sheikh site finds in the Amuq Valley with highly stylised depictions or geometric designs. They are found widely until the later fourth millennium B.C. (Buchanan and Moorey, 1984, pp. 12,13).

49.47.131e

Stamp impression taken in plaster featuring a two-headed stag looking both ways. The original is held at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and has been previously published as a low back steatite. The image is described as a turned-back *mouflon* (Ovis orientalis) head attached to the shoulder of a running bull. Curiously it is described as having been bought by Sir Arthur Evans in Paris in 1911 (Hogarth, 1920, p. plt. 120; Buchanan and Moorey, 1984, pp. 16, plt. 114;).

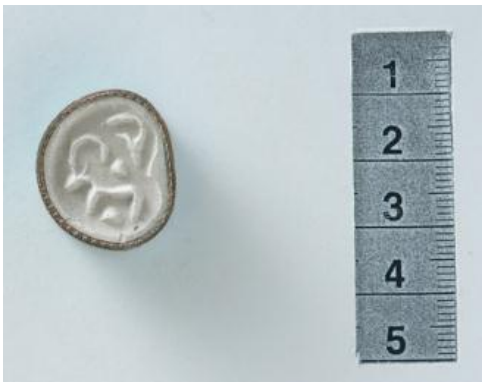
49.47.131k

Stamp impression taken in plaster featuring a stylised stag. The original is held at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and is published by Hogarth (Hogarth, 1920, p. 103), and Buchanan and Moorey (1984). This is a bronze gable seal with two perforations. It was bought 'near Antioch' in 1889. It is questionable how genuine it is, however if it is so it would date to circa third millennium B.C. (Buchanan and Moorey, 1984, pp. 14, plt. vii, no. 91).

49.47.132c.i

Impression taken in plaster of a scaraboid seal with two rudimentary figures facing each other in dance or worship. Maybe holding something aloft. 'Yuzghat' inscribed on back referring to Yozgat. Garstang mentions travelling through Yuzgat however no seals are mentioned (Garstang, 1910, pp. 23-5, 30-6). In the first Sakçagözü report Garstang does mention travelling through Yuzgat on the 30th of May where he examined a number of coins and small objects (Garstang, 1908, p. 2).

49.47.132d



An ovoid bulla impression taken in plaster featuring a stylised goat or ram with possibly a tree branch. 'Alexandretta' is inscribed on the back. Possibly of Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age dating 3500 – 2000 B.C. from the İskenderun district in the Hatay region (Aksan, 2001). One of the seals listed for Alexandretta within the 1911 loans list is a black stone seal of unusual shape with a design of a deer with a symbol in field (IAL, 1911, p. 4). It is possible that it would correspond to the above impression.

49.47.132m

Bead impression taken in plaster featuring a stylised design with 'Alexandretta' inscribed on the back. Probably of Chalcolithic age dating 3600 – 3100 B.C. from the İskenderun district in the Hatay region (Aksan, 2001). Garstang was in Alexandretta on the 24th of June where merchants offered him various bronzes, seals and other objects (Garstang, 1908, p. 2). The 1911 loans list mentions five seals from Alexandretta (IAL, 1911, p. 4) with very rudimentary descriptions. It lists three black stone seals, two of 'Bureau Cranium' design, a red stone one of 'conventional design and a 'seal labelled Alexandretta'. It is possible that this latter one produced the impression above.

The following impression taken in plaster has affinities with ones excavated by M. Mallowan at Tell Brak of Late Prehistoric period however the chronology is, again, unclear. It is possibly from the Uruk III-V strata of the fourth millennium B.C. comparable to the Tepe Gawra, Tell Arpachiya and Nineveh finds (Buchanan and Moorey, 1984, p. 19).

49.47.132e.i

Bulla impression taken in plaster with very unclear design. Dating probably of Late Prehistoric circa 3000 B.C. from the Syrian Arab border regions. The design is so unclear that attributing the correct date is virtually impossible.

The following bulla impression taken in plaster was most likely produced by a provincial Akkadian stamp seal from the third millennium B.C. of Mesopotamian style. Similar archaic ones were dated to Early Dynastic I-II at Ur (Buchanan and Moorey, 1984, pp. 31-2).

49.47.132a.i

Conoid impression taken in plaster featuring a deity/ priest figure facing a seated deity separated by what might be a tree. 'Songrus' is inscribed on the back. It is possibly Neo-Assyrian circa 800-700 B.C. The 1911 loans list mentions three cylindrical seals and a seal from this site on loan to the museum (IAL, 1911, p. 6). Maybe this was the 'seal' it refers to. Seven seals are published in the preliminary Sakçagözü report of 1908 however this is not one of them.

The following design impressions taken in plaster are considered of 'elaborate' style of Neo-Imperial stamp seals for the seventh century B.C. of 'linear' style. These typically emerge during Nebuchadnezzar II's reign (c. 604-562BC) surviving late into the Achaemenid period, sub-labelled Neo-Babylonian. They are found throughout Mesopotamia, Cyprus, Syro-Palestine and western Iran. Comparable to the Babylonian *kudurru* stones (Buchanan and Moorey, 1988, p. 56).

49.47.132b.i

Original reference card:

'4: Seal, conoid. Green-grey serpentine from Jobba: palace floor'

Conoid impression taken in plaster featuring a ceremonial scene with a 'tree of life', a deity or priest standing at a table with arms raised. Something is depicted above the table and a star is depicted above the figure. 'NEOZ' incised on the back. It is probably of Neo-Hittite period, dating to circa 800 B.C. The original conoid seal was from the 1911 season as it features on corresponding illustrations (see above). It was of steatite with a neatly incised design; Garstang's 1911 illustration locates this find to Çoba Hüyük (UoL, GM, SG-270). Similar seals bought by Woolley in Aleppo in 1914 (Buchanan and Moorey, 1988, p. 58) suggest a localised stylistic design.

Seal impressions taken in plaster 49.47.132g,hi,l make up the four faces of one seal purchased in Kiliz. The designs suggest a Neo-Imperial common Assyrian style iconography of the early eighth century B.C. which persists into the late sixth century B.C. These are very widespread in northern Mesopotamian sites and

western Iran; also comparable to the Tell Halaf and Sinjirli site finds (Buchanan and Moorey, 1988, p. 48).

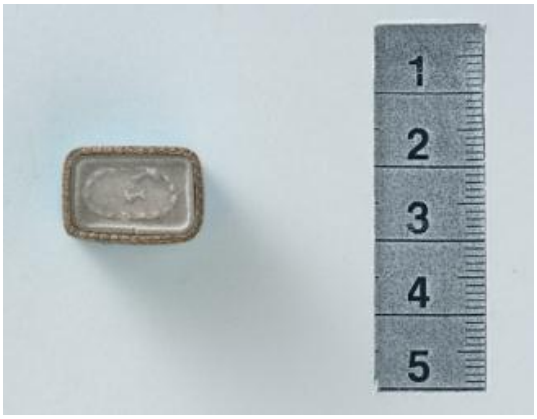
49.47.132g

Rectangular impression taken in plaster of script. This is one of four sides of a single seal corresponding to 49.47.132h, l, and i. Original seal was of black stone. 'Killiz 1/4' inscribed on back. The script is difficult to identify, however it most similar to Aramaic.

49.47.132h

Rectangular impression taken in plaster featuring two standing figures or columns beneath a roof. This is one of four sides of a single seal corresponding to 49.47.132g, l, and i. Original seal was of black stone. 'Killiz 3/4' inscribed on back.

49.47.132l



Rectangular impression taken in plaster of wreath. This is one of four sides of a single seal corresponding to 49.47.132h, g, i. Original seal was of black stone. 'Killiz 4/4' inscribed on back.

49.47.132i

Rectangular impression taken in plaster of standing figure with hammer. This is one of four sides of a single seal corresponding to 49.47.132g, h, l. Original seal was of black stone. 'Killiz 2/4' inscribed on back.

This seal was published in Garstang's 1908 report. He reports travelling through Kiliz on the 28th of June, where he bought various seals and small objects at bazaars (Garstang, 1908, p. 2). He considered the above seal remarkable, featuring the god Sandes on one side (probably 49.47.132i), and other unusual symbols (Garstang, 1908, p. 12, plt. xv, fig.1). It was originally loaned to the museum in 1911 and was removed by Garstang in 1929. It was listed as a:

> 'curious seal. Four inscribed Faces. 800 B.C.' (IAL, 1911, p. 2).'

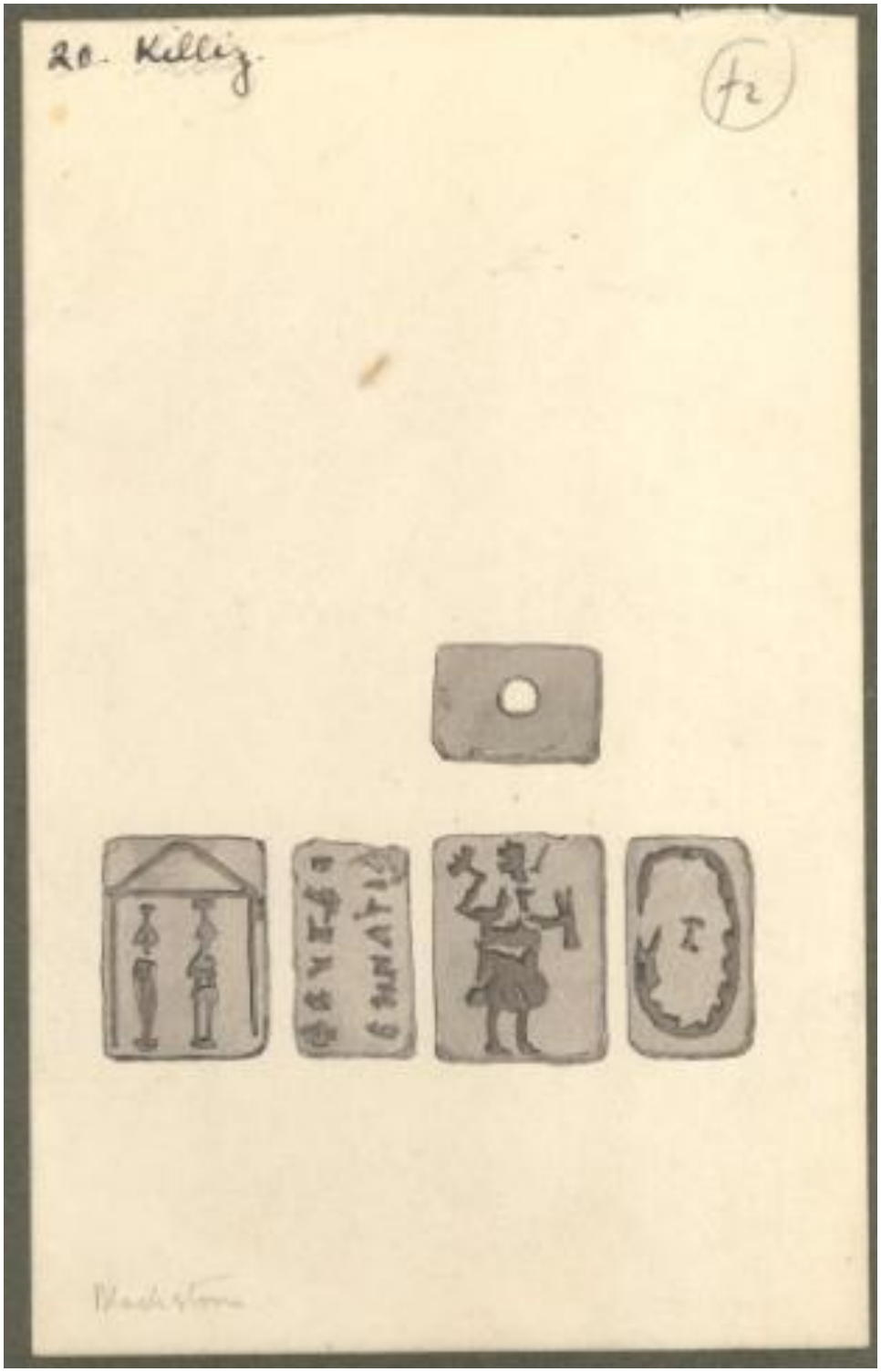
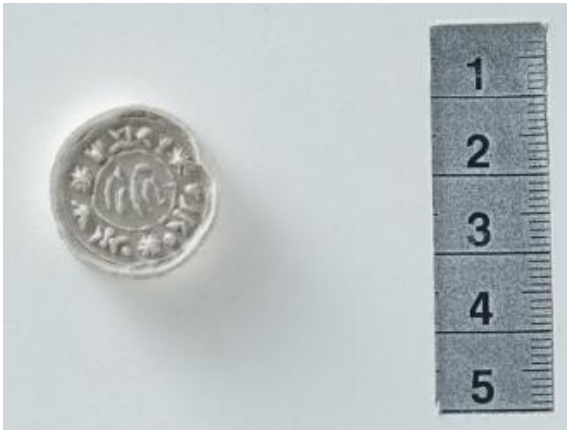


Image 12.1: Original water colour by Mr. J. Grant commission by Garstang (Garstang, 1908, p. 12) of 49.47.132. (UCL, SC, Garstang, UCLCA/IA/A/17)

The following are a collection of Hittite bulla seal impressions taken in plaster, even though many seals are mentioned in the loans list none are specifically described as Hittite or even as bulla seals apart from 49.47.132c and 49.47.132f below. Hittite

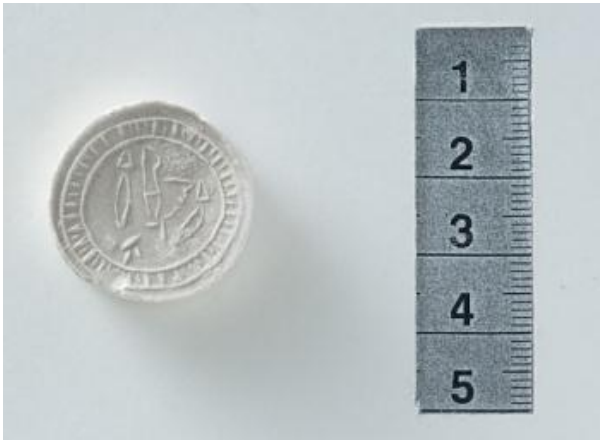
bulla seals have been dated as early as 1800 B.C. from Kultepe IB and Soloi (p. 18). I do not go into further detail for each impression however the various hieroglyphs and symbols featured have been discussed by many scholars: see Buchanan (1967), Beckman (1981), Hogarth (1922; 1920) Boehmer and Güterbock (1987), Dinçol (1983), Laroche (1966) and Singer (1995).

49.47.132x



Bulla impression taken in plaster featuring Hittite symbols within two borders. Probably of New Hittite Kingdom period dating circa 1200 – 800 B.C. from the Syrian Arab border regions.

49.47.132u

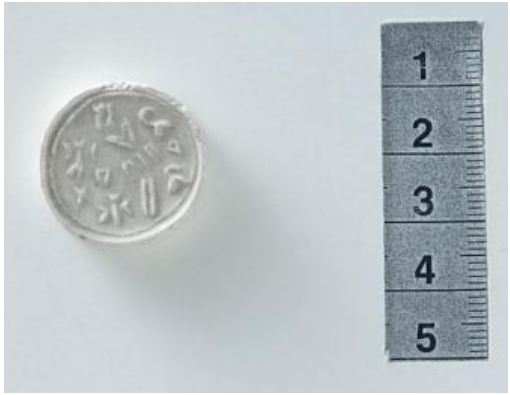


Bulla impression taken in plaster featuring Hittite symbols within decorative border probably from Middle to New Hittite Kingdom dating circa 1400 – 1200 B.C. from the Syrian Arab border regions.

49.47.132d.i

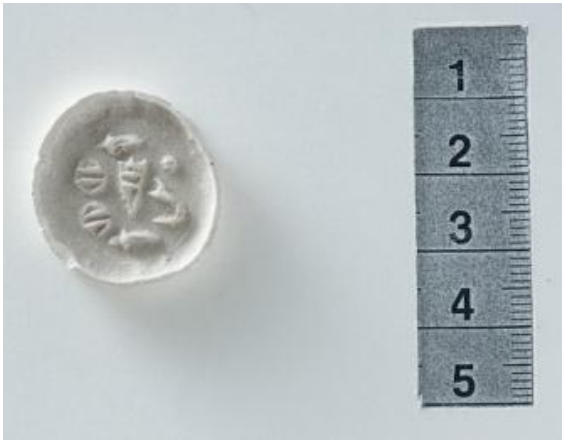
Convex discoid impression taken in plaster of Middle to Neo-Hittite dating circa 1400-1200 B.C. from the Syrian border regions. It depicts typical Hittite symbols with a chain-link border design. The 'W'-glyph is the Storm-god's 'name'. The triangles are ideograms for 'good; or well being' (Beckman, 1981, p. 133).

49.47.132p



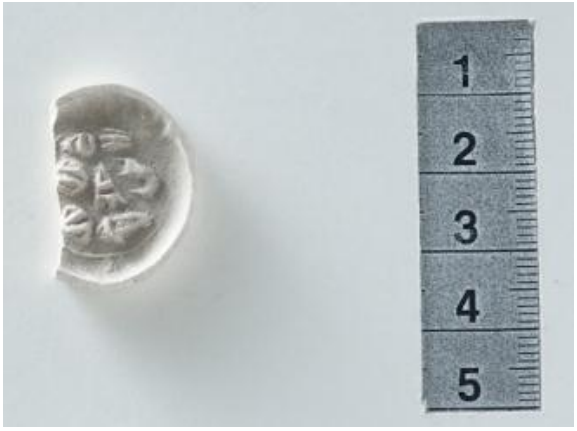
Bulla impression taken in plaster featuring Hittite symbols within a plain border. ‘NEOZ’ marked on the back. Probably of Middle to New Kingdom Hittite period dating circa 1400 – 1200 B.C. The British Museum holds a bulla seal (no. 102466) which most likely produced the impression above (Hogarth, 1920, p. 90). This is described as a primitive gable seal of steatite bought at Aintab (Hogarth, 1920, p. 29).

49.47.132t



Discoid or bulla impression taken in plaster featuring Hittite symbols. Probably of Middle Hittite Kingdom period dating circa 1400 – 1300 B.C. This is the opposing face for impression 49.47.132z.

49.47.132z

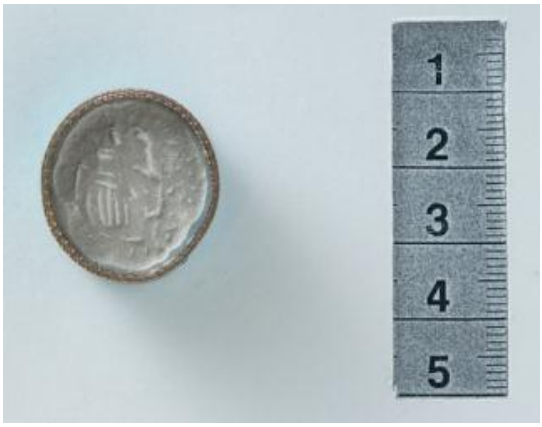


Discoid or bulla impression taken in plaster (broken) featuring various Hittite symbols. Probably of Hittite Middle Kingdom period dating circa 1400 – 1300 B.C. This is the opposing face for impression 49.47.132t.

49.47.132a

Bulla impression taken in plaster featuring various Hittite symbols probably dating from the Middle to New Hittite kingdom circa 1400 – 1300 B.C.

49.47.132b

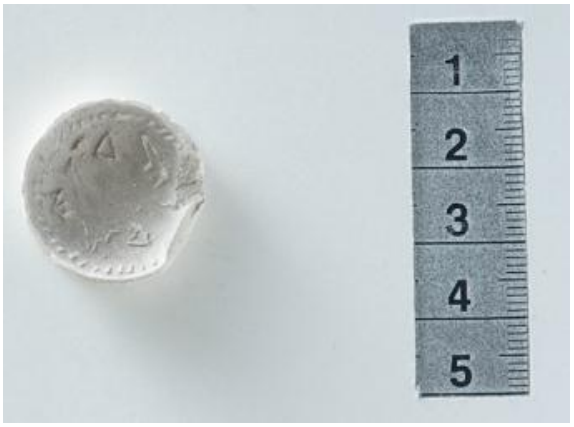


Ovoid bulla seal impression taken in plaster. The design is very unclear. 'Killiz' is written on the back. Probably of Middle to New Hittite Kingdom age dating circa 1400 – 1200 B.C. from Kiliz region.

49.47.132w

Bulla impression taken in plaster featuring a Hittite figure – Storm-god - standing with horned headwear, and upturned footwear. Symbols surround it on all sides, probably from Middle Hittite Kingdom age dating circa 1400 -1200 B.C. We see the W-glyph representing the Storm-god here too. The Storm-god made part of the pantheon for where the Hittite king derived his power. Depictions of the Storm-god in seals might have lent the witnessing presence or sanctioning of the document stamped while rosette symbols are considered space filler (Beckman, 1981, p. 135).

49.47.132v

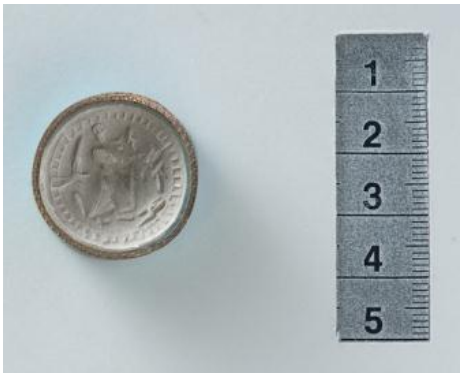


Convex discoid impression taken in plaster featuring Hittite symbols within a decorative border. Probably of Middle to New Hittite Kingdom age dating circa 1400 – 1200 B.C. This is the opposing face impression to 49.47.132q.

49.47.132q

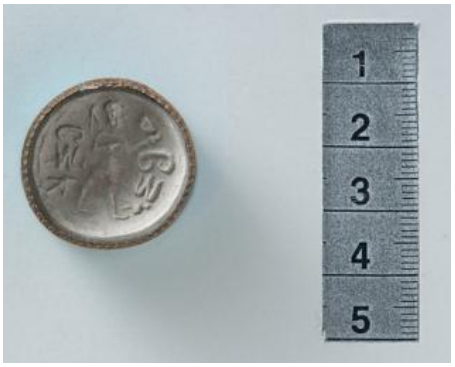
Convex discoid impression taken in plaster featuring Hittite symbols within a border. Probably of Middle to New Kingdom age dating circa 1400 – 1200 B.C. This is the opposing face impression of 49.47.132v.

49.47.132c



Bulla impression taken in plaster featuring a stylised standing figure with various Hittite symbols. 'Maden' and 'NEOZ' marked on the back. This is probably of Middle to New Hittite Kingdom dating circa 1458 – 1224 B.C. from Maden-Shehr region. Original is at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. This is the opposing face of impression 49.47.132f. Published in Garstang's 1908 report (Garstang, 1908, pp. 11-12, plt. XIV) and *The Land of the Hittites* (Garstang, 1910, p. pl. XL).

49.47.132f



Bulla impression taken in plaster featuring a stylised standing figure with various Hittite symbols. 'Maden' and 'NEOZ' marked on the back. This is probably of Middle to New Hittite Kingdom dating circa 1458 – 1224 B.C. from Maden-Shehr region. This is the opposing face of impression 49.47.132c. Garstang considered this white steatite seal as the most important find that year. He believed it was a status

symbol rather than a functioning seal (Garstang, 1908, pp. 11-12, plt. XIV; Hogarth, 1920, p. 90). Also published in *The Land of the Hittites* (Garstang, 1910, p. pl. XL).

Image 12.2: Original water colour by Mr. J Grant commissioned by Garstang (Garstang, 1908, p. 12) of ivory bulla seal from Maden. (UCL, SC, Garstang, UCLCA/IA/A/17)

The 1911 museum loans list describes the above as a round seal with Hittite god and Hittite priest dated circa 1200 B.C. from Denek Maden (IAL, 1911, p. 3). This was removed from the museum in 1929 by Garstang.

The following cast might be considered a ‘Neo-Hittite’ or ‘Neo-Assyrian’ seal impression. Similarly worked seals have been described as ‘Neo-Hittite’ due to their shape; however since we do not have the original seal (only its plaster impression) we can only compare the design. Virtually no seals of this style have a definite provenance. The subject is rather typical of Assyria, west Asia and Iran and start appearing around 1000 B.C. with confusion as to being of Late Bronze or Iron Age. Comparable to some stamp seals found by Woolley at Carchemish cemetery (Buchanan and Moorey, 1988, pp. 34-36; Woolley, 1921). The 1911 loans list allocates nine seals to Beirut (IAL, 1911, p. 4) however only one impression below was labelled as such.

49.47.132j

An ovoid impression taken in plaster featuring a goat or ram with ‘Beyrout’ inscribed on the back. The 1911 loans list describes one Beirut seal as a red stone Scaraboid with stag design (IAL, 1911, p. 4). I might suggest that it would correspond with the above impression.

V2.13: Garstang plaster impressions of cylinder seals

Twenty-four impressions taken in plaster of cylinder seals are listed within the 1911 loans list to the Liverpool Public Museum. They consisted of unidentified and unlabeled seals as well as others originating from Kayseri, Kiliz, Gaziantep, Sakçagözü (Çoba Hüyük and Sonrus Höyük) (IAL, 1911, pp. 1-7). None of these remained at the Liverpool Public Museum or at the Institute of Archaeology. The location of the seals from which these impressions in plaster were taken is still unknown. None of the descriptions on the cards positively match the impressions below. I suggest this is due to poor descriptions and labelling.

49.47.131i

Plaster cast of a cylinder seal from the Syrian border region. It is unclear if the design depicts something specific or simple curving incised lines. Probably of Chalcolithic or Ubaid dating from circa 5000 – 3000 B.C.

49.47.131c

Cylinder seal impression taken in plaster featuring a stylised human figure holding a whip (?) and three quadruped animals (stag, horse, lion?). Other small animals appear to be a duck, snake and crocodile. ‘NEOZ’ is inscribed on the back probably from the Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age dating circa 3000 – 2000 B.C. from the Syrian Arab borders.

49.47.131H

Cylinder seal impression taken in plaster featuring standing stylised figures, unclear. ‘Songrus AA’ inscribed on the back. Original seal was located by Garstang in Trench AA at Sakçagözü. Probably of Early Assyrian period dating circa 1900 – 1800 B.C. Appears to be the same impression of 49.47.131d and 49.47.131g.

49.47.131d

Cylinder seal impression taken in plaster of unclear stylised figures which is identical to 49.47.131h. ‘AA’ also inscribe on back probably of early Assyrian period dating circa 1900 – 1800 B.C. from the Sonruz mound. Copy of 49.47.131H and 49.47.131g.

49.47.131g

Cylinder seal impression taken in plaster featuring stylised unclear standing figures. 'AA' inscribed on back. Dating probably from the Early Assyrian period circa 1900 – 1800 B.C. from the Sonruz mound. Copy of 49.47.131d and 49.47.131H.

49.47.131j

Cylinder seal impression taken in plaster featuring various standing figures and quadruped animal. 'NEOZ' marked on the back. Probably of Early Assyrian period dating circa 1900 – 1800 B.C. from the Syrian border regions.

49.47.131f

Cylinder seal impression taken in plaster featuring a stylised ‘ceremonial banquet/feast’ scene. Probably of Early Assyrian age dating circa 1900 – 1800 B.C. from the Syrian borders.

49.47.131m

Cylinder seal impression taken in plaster featuring script and two figures (deity and priest/king) standing and facing each other. 'NEOZ' inscribed on the back. This is of Middle Bronze Age Babylonian style from the Syrian border regions dating to circa 2000 B.C. This appears to have been a Kassite Period seal. Similar ones are held at the Louvre Museum, Paris and Birmingham City Museum, UK. The texts were generally taken from stock phrases of prayer addressed to the Sun-god (Lambert, 1966, p. 76).

49.47.131l

Original reference card states:

> ‘No.: 5: Seal, cylinder, and impression. Brown-grey stone from palace, Jobba, Heraldic figures.’

Cylinder seal impression taken in plaster featuring various standing stylised figures with star. Very unclear. Probably Neo-Sumerian dating circa 2100 – 2000 B.C. from Sakçagözü. Similar to ones found from Third Dynasty Ur (Lambert, 1966, p. 71).

49.47.131n

Cylinder seal impression taken in plaster of male and female figures with horned headwear and surrounded by winged quadrupeds (sphinx and deer?). 'NEOZ' inscribed on the back. This is probably Early Assyrian/Akkadian dating circa 1820 - 1730 B.C. from the Syrian borders.

49.47.131a

Cylinder seal impression taken in plaster of stylised wave design. Probably of Early Assyrian dating circa 1950 – 1750 B.C. from the Syrian Arab borders.

49.47.131b

Cylinder seal impression taken in plaster of stylised wave design with ‘NEOZ’ inscribed on back. Probably of Early Assyrian age dating circa 1950 – 1750 B.C. from the Sakçagözü region.

V2.14: Selection of Garstang reconstructed pottery

The pottery sherds found at Sakçagözü have been extensively published by Garstang (Garstang, 1908, pp. 114- 7, plts. XLV-XLVII) and further investigated recently by Sally Fletcher-Irving of the British Museum and Stuart Campbell of Manchester University (2010). Other relevant publications include: Burney, C.A., (1956), 'Northern Anatolia before Classical Times', *Anatolian Studies*, *Special number in honour and memory of Professor John Garstang*, Vol. 6, pp. 179-203; Genz, H. (2000), 'The Early Iron Age in Central Anatolia in Light of Recent Research', *Near Eastern Archaeology*, *Ethnoarchaeology II*, Vol. 63, Iss. 2, p. 111; and Glatz,C., (2009), 'Empire as network: Spheres of material interaction in Late Bronze Age Anatolia', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, pp.127-141.

Given the extensive previous study of this group I wish to focus on the reconstructed artefacts presented below since they supplement an additional aspect to the reconstruction of the lost Aegean and Hittite gallery of 1931 and also tell of the display expectations of the time. The guidebook mentions that these reconstructed items were displayed in Case VIII with other items from Çoba Hüyük, such as the bronze casting mould discussed in Chapter Six. They are described as wheel-thrown and handmade and dated generically as 'Bronze Age'. However they were attributed to different periods of the mound occupation and emphasised that they displayed foreign influences from what was expected of the locality (Allan, 1931, p. 29). No further details were given. These ceramic items was given on loan to the Liverpool Public Museum by Garstang after they had been reconstructed in February 1931, in addition to the few Neo-Hittite items he had left them after recovering the best of his collection in 1929 in time for the opening of the new Hittite gallery in March (NML, Antiquities coll.).

The following reconstructions were created from sherds located on the Neolithic floor level of Sakçagözü however stylistically they were found to be similar to the Naram-Sin layers at Susa (c. 3750 B.C.). Also comparable to Carchemish, Judeideh (XIV) Ras Shamra in Syria, Chagar Bazar, Arpachiyah (TT 10) and Nineveh (I) (Garstang, et al., 1937, pp. 130-1).

In the sample box Garstang sent to Hamdi Bey in Istanbul in 1908 and which Hamdi Bey subsequently approved for transport to Liverpool in 1910 were selected fragments of pottery from the site of Sakçagözü. These fragments included decorated and undecorated, diagnostic and undiagnositic sherds. For some of these (e.g. he Neolithic sherds) photographs of the samples were sent to Hamdi Bey and were evidently taken in the field at Sakçagözü (see image 14.1). No complete pots were sent to Liverpool, but someone then made a few of them up into complete reproduced pots for teaching and display purposes.

49.47.1 – Vessel – reconstruction

Image courtesy of NML image archives

Original reference card G165:

> Bowl - core grey, black slip inside and out, walls notably thin and highly burnished, incised decoration, hand made. Jobba Eyuk. Sakje Geuzi. Syria. LAAA I p 114 and pl. XIV, XXIV. Pp128, 130, pl. XXXII 4.

This was reconstructed from the top left Neolithic black incised sherd shown in the photograph above. Garstang remarked on its thin texture and fine colour (Garstang, 1908, p. 115).

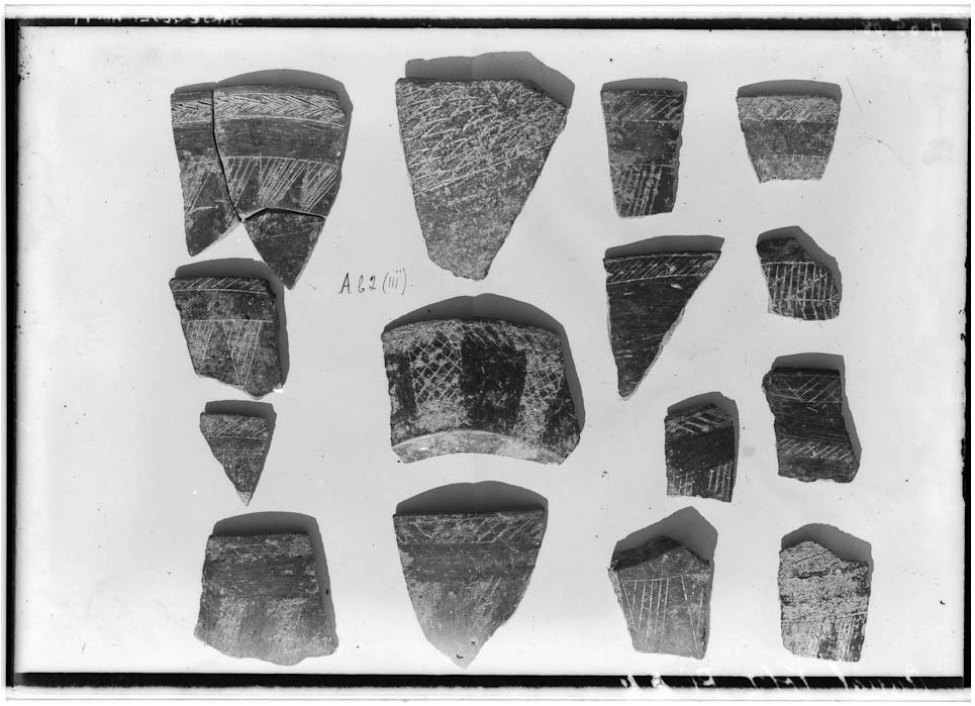


Image 14.1: Neolithic black incised ware from trench A section b2 (iii), Sakçagözü, as photographed for the Ottoman Antiquities department, 1908 prior to reconstruction (NML: 49.47.1) (Sherd top left) (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-106)

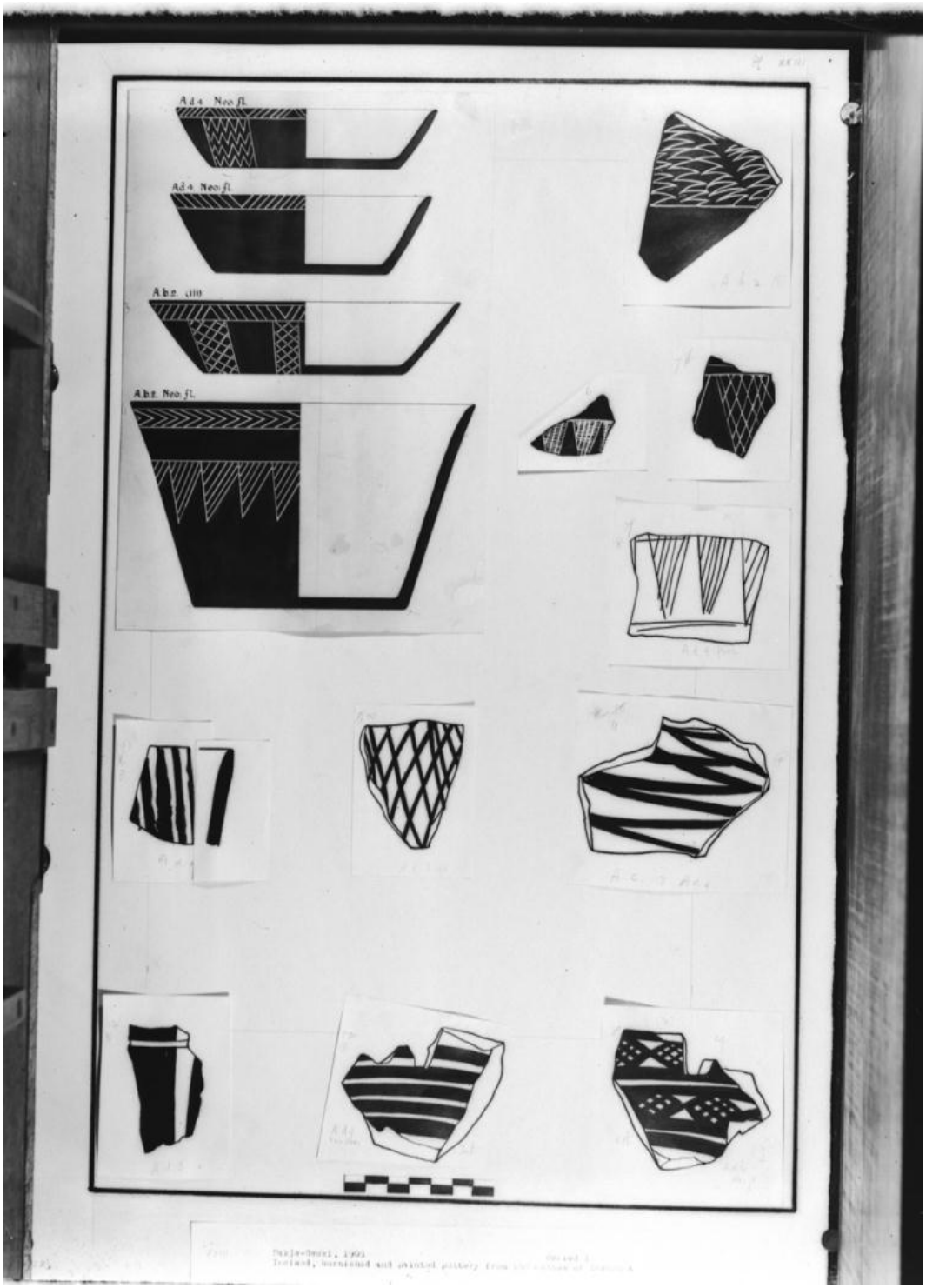


Image 14.2: Garstang, 1911, illustration published in the third Sakçagözü report (Garstang, et al., 1937) (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-274)

49.47.2 – Bowl reconstruction

Image courtesy of NML image archives

Original reference card G168:

> Bowl - brown, dark brown decoration, opposite horizontal and vertical stripes, handmade, Tell Halaf style, c.f. Arpachiyah polychrome vase, Iraq II pt.1 pl.XX. Jobba Eyuk. Sakje Geuzi. Syria. LAAA XXIV pp.136-7 pl. XXX5. Late Hittite Period III.

49.47.3 – Vessel – reconstruction

Image courtesy of NML image archives

Original reference card G167:

> Bowl - flat base, vertical sides, pinkish buff with reddish brown striped decoration, "simplified bucrania". Jobba Hüyük. Hamidiyeh. Syria. LAAA XXIV 3 pp. 136 - 7, pl. XXX5. Late Hittite.

49.47.4 – Vessel – reconstruction

image courtesy of NML image archives

Original reference card G166:

> Bowl - high sided, buff ware, dark grey striped decoration, criss-cross lozenges, handmade, Tell Halaf style. Jobba Hüyük III. Hamidiyeh. Syria. LAAA XXIV pl. XXX 4. Late Hittite III.

49.47.5 –Bowl – reconstruction

Image courtesy of NML image archives

Original reference card G169:

> Bowl - high sided, flat base, pinkish buff with dark brown painted decoration - wavy ("mouflon") vertical bands, handmade, Tell Halaf style, cf."Iraq" II pt 1 fig. 75. Jobba Hüyük III. Sakje Geuzi. Syria. LAAA XXIV pl. XXX2. Late Hittite.

49.47.10 – Vessel – reconstruction

Image courtesy of NML image archives

Original reference card G170:

> Goblet - warm buff ware, horizontal bands of orange and dark brown, wheel made, high stem cf "champagne cups from Carchemish". Jobba Hüyük IV. Sakje Geuzi. Syria. LAAA XXIV p. 139 and Pl. XXXV. 8th – 7th cent. BC.

Garstang's final report describes this as a goblet on a high stand, somewhat reminiscent of the champagne cups from Carchemish, restored from fragments and considered of Late Hittite period dating 800 – 700 B.C. (Garstang, et al., 1937, pp. 138, 139, plt. xxxv, no. 5). Image 14.5 is a watercolour taken for illustration purposes of this reconstruction.

Image 14.3: Garstang 1911, Sakçagözü reconstructed vessels (Ref.: UoL, GM, SG-204)

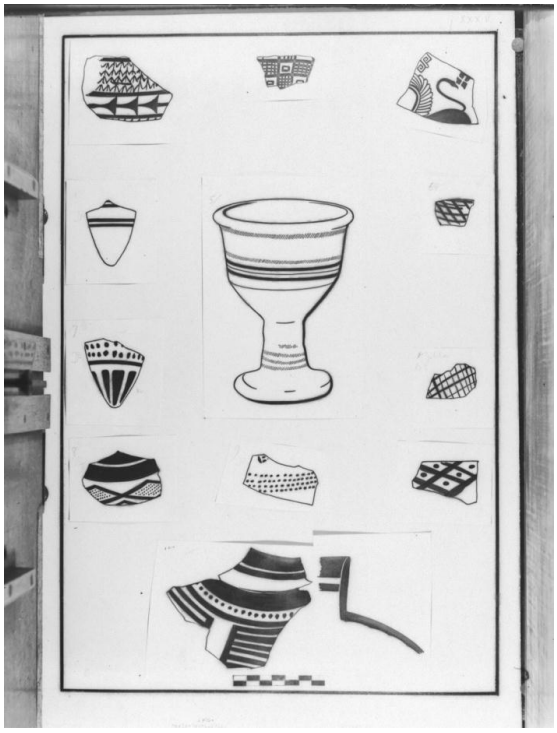


Image 14.4: Garstang 1911 Sakçagözü published ceramic finds illustration (Garstang, et al., 1937) (ref.: UoL, GM, SG-272)

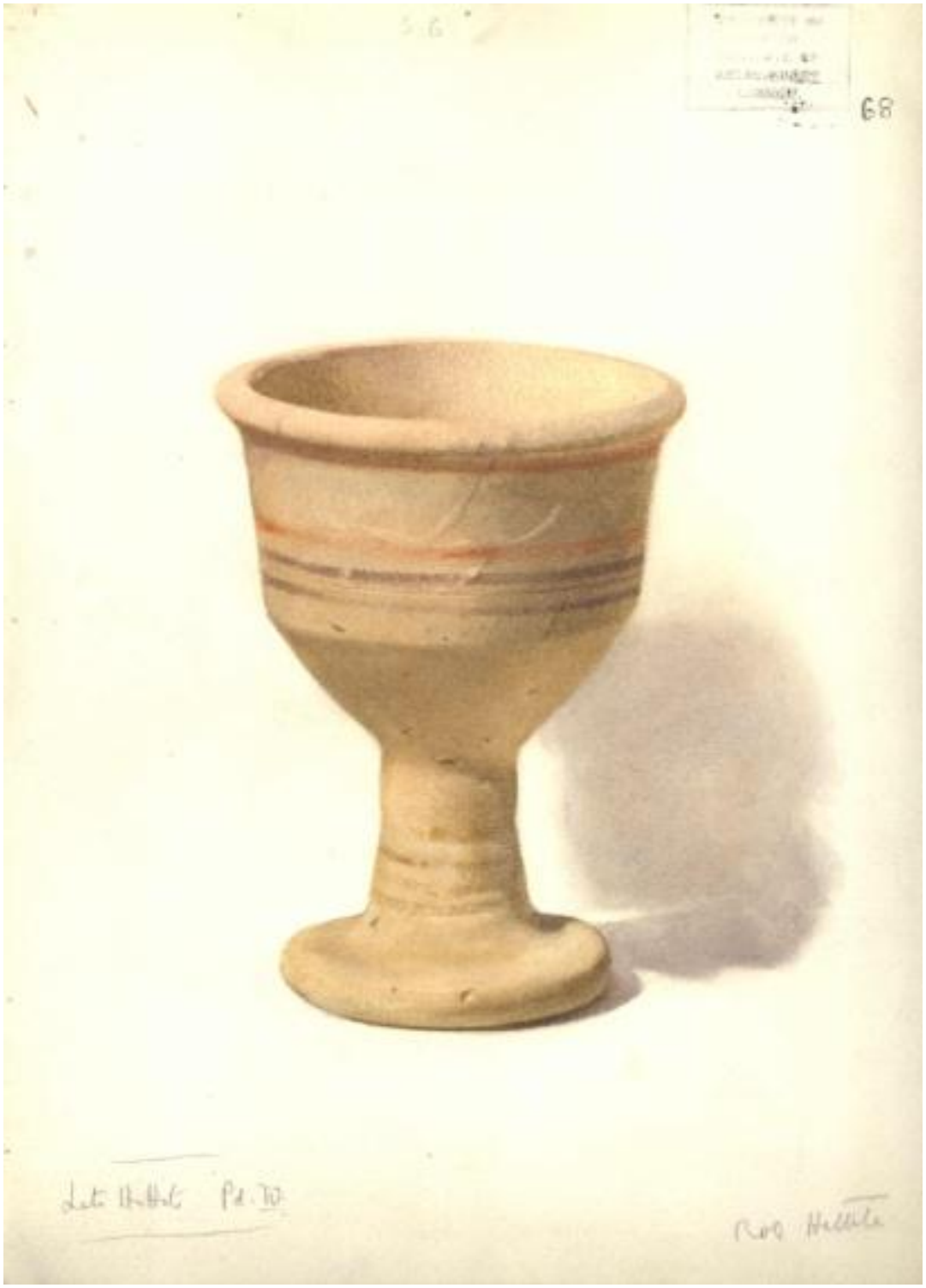


Image 14.5: Watercolour by Mr. J. Grant commissioned by Garstang (UCL, SC, Garstang, UCLCA/IA/A/17)

Appendix One

Timeline of Professor John Garstang (1876 - 1956)

1876	Born on the 5th of May in Blackburn, United Kingdom (UK).
1895	Read mathematics at Jesus College, Oxford.
1898	Excavated at Ribchester, Lancashire.
1898 –1900	Excavated at Melandra Castle, Derbyshire.
1900	Excavated at Richborough, Kent.
1899	Graduated in Mathematics with a 3rd class undergraduate degree from Oxford .
1900 - 01	Excavated at el-Mahasna, Abydos and Beit Khallâf Mastabas, Egypt while working with Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie. Collected at el-Raqaqna and Athribis, Egypt.
1901 -2	Excavated at Beyt Dawud Sahl at el-Reqâqnah, and el-Mahasna, Egypt with the Petries. Collected at Sararwa and Nag el-Alawna, Egypt.
1902 – 04	Excavated with Ernest Harold Jones at Beni Hasan and Naqada, Egypt.
1903	Excavated at Brough-on-Noe/Navio, Cheshire, UK.
1904	Visited Turkey: Istanbul, Boğazköy and Yazılıkaya amongst others. Acquainted with Osman Hamdi Bey.
1904 – 06	Excavated and visited at Esna, Edfu and Hissayeh, Neqada, Istabl Antar, el-Kab, Dakke(h), Hierakonpolis and Messawiyeh, in Egypt with Ernest Harold Jones.
1906 - 09	Excavated at Kostamneh in Nubia (Sudan) and Kubban/Qubban, Abydos and Barabit, Egypt.

1907 Boğazköy excavation permit revoked. Reconnaissance mission to Istanbul and across Turkey to Hittite sites: Afuzghat, Caesarea, Bor/Bov, Adana, Maraş, Carchemish, Aleppo, and Alexandretta, Gaziantep/Aintab and Killiz/Kilis with H. Schliephack and Rev. W.J. Phythian-Adams.

Was made Rankin Professor of Methods and Practice of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool. Also held positions as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and an Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries in Copenhagen.

Married M'lle Marie Louise Bergés (1880-1949) from Toulouse, Midi-Pyrénées, France.

1908 – 11 Excavated at Sakçagözü, Turkey.

1909 – 14 Excavated at Meroë, Sudan.

1910 Published *The Land of the Hittites: An Account of Recent Explorations and Discoveries in Asia Minor, with Descriptions of the Hittite Monuments, with Maps, Plans and Ninety-Nine Photographs* published by E.P. Dunkin and Co. of New York.

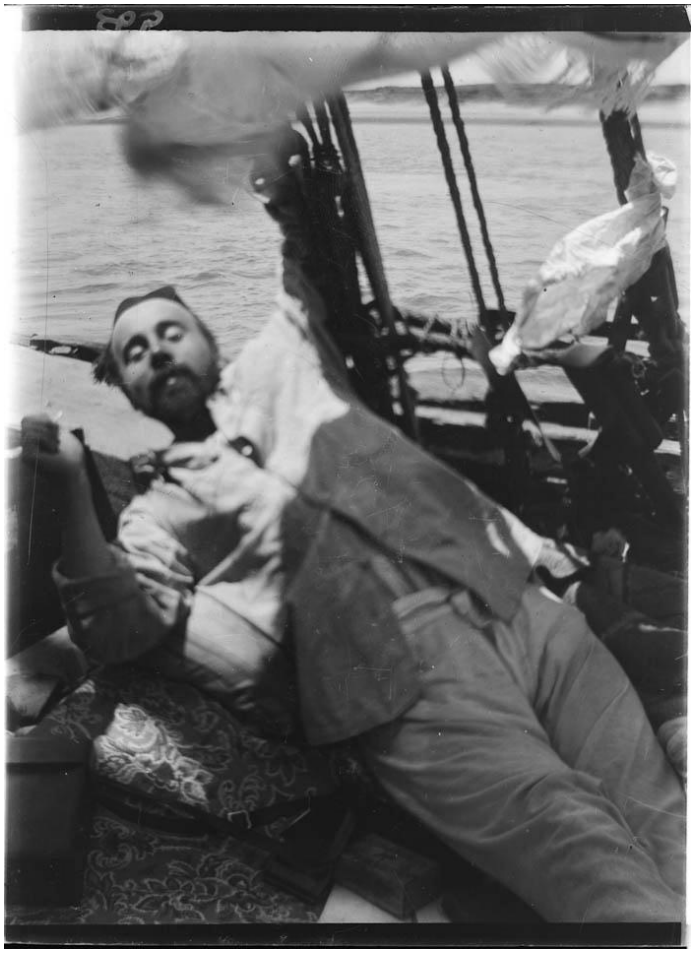
1911-12 Commissioned moulds and casts of the Hittite sculpture pressings in Berlin, Germany, taken in Turkey, 1907. Loaned to the Liverpool Public Museum, UK.

1913 Sir Leonard Woolley donated one fifth of the Deve Hüyük and Carchemish rescued artefacts to the Liverpool Public Museum on behalf of the British Museum, UK.

1920 Made Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur for his work for the Red Cross in France during World War I.

1919 – 26	Founded the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (BSAJ) (now the Kenyon Institute), Israel.
	Appointed Director of the British Mandatory Depart of Antiquities of Palestine, Jerusalem, Israel.
	Established the Palestine Antiquities Museum in Jerusalem (now the Rockefeller Museum), Israel.
1920 – 21	Excavated at Ashkelon and Eretz, Israel.
1922	Excavated at Tell Dor, Israel.
	Established official Southern Levantine ceramic terminology and chronology with William Foxwell Albright (American Institute) and Fr. L-H. Vincent (French Institute), Israel.
1929	Garstang loaned the Hittite Collection to the Liverpool Public Museum for the new 1931 gallery in Liverpool, UK.
1931	Awarded honorary Doctor of Law from Aberdeen University, UK.
	The 'Aegean and Hittite Gallery' opened at the Liverpool Public Museum displaying the Hittite Cast collection in full, UK.
1935	John Bergés Eustace Garstang (son) married Miss Margaret Madeline Christian Garrick.
1930 – 36	Excavated at Tell es-Sultan, Jericho with the British School of Archaeology in Palestine, Israel.
1938	Meroë Garstang (daughter) married Mr William James Dyce Fleming. The Bishop of Rochester and Canon W.J. Phythian-Adams officiated.

1936- 42	Surveyed and excavated at Chaushli, Souk Su Hüyük (Yümüktepe), Kazanli, Sirkeli, and in Mersin as permitted by Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk, Turkey.
1940	Appointed British consultant with the Turkish Government heading a humanitarian aid council for earthquake devastation in Turkey. Members of this council established the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara with Garstang (1947).
	Garstang and his wife embark on a "Bundles for Britain" mission in the United States in aid of the Royal Naval and Mercantile Marine during World War II.
1941	Institute of Archaeology and the Liverpool Public Museum was hit during a May World War II Blitz.
	Garstang retired from the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool, UK.
1947	Garstang founded the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara (BIAA), Turkey.
	Appointed corresponding member of the *Institut de France*.
1949	Appointed Commander of the British Empire.
	Marie Louise Garstang (wife) passed away.
1956	Made Honorary Fellow at Jesus College, Oxford University.
	Garstang died aged 80, on the 12th of September as he left the Mersin site Cilicia on the way to Beirut, Lebanon. Funeral held at Jesus College Chapel, Oxford University, UK.



Garstang sailing on the Nile River, 1904 (Ref.: UoL, GM, G-093)

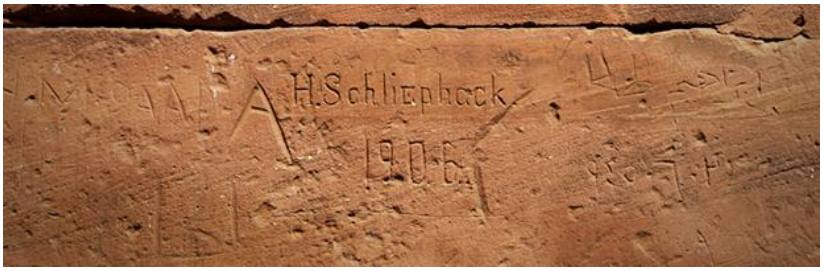
Appendix Two

Herr Horst Schliephack

John Garstang's assistant at Sakçagözü was the Georgian-Bavarian Herr Horst Schliephack (DOB/D unknown). He had initially been travelling as an expedition photographer with Professor James Henry Breasted from October 1906 until March 1907 in the Near East. The team had departed from Meroë, ending in Wadi Halfa 2000 miles away from the Mediterranean, having voyaged by caravan, train, foot, animal and boat. He photographed many of the archaeological sites on the way on behalf of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Breasted, 1977, pp. 178-209; Braverman Puma, 1998). Charles Breasted (son of James Breasted) described Schliephack as a "great six-foot-four, happy-go-lucky, good-natured, inordinately boastful, tawny-haired and bearded Russo-German photographer in his mid-thirties,...who had been photographer on the German military expedition to Pekin after the murder there of the German ambassador in 1900" (Breasted, 2009, p. 173).

Schliephack captured taking an image at the Great Stela of Thutmose I at Tumbos, January 10th, 1907 (Larson, 2006).

Schliephack was not above the temptations of adding his name to the Meroëan archaeology, as did earlier European travellers such as Frédéric Cailliaud (b.1787 – d.1869) in 1822, Prince Herman von Pückler-Muskau (b. 1785 – d. 1871) and Arthur Todd Holroyd (b.1806 – d. 1887) in 1837. The graffiti pictured below bear his name and date of visit.



"H. Schliephack 1906." in Sudan (Nubia)(Ref.: Happypoppeye, 19.12.2007 http://wanderinground.files.wordpress.com/2011/05/holroyd.jpg?w=645)

"H. Schliephack 1906."at the Musawwarat es-Sufra Kiosk, Sudan (Nubia)(Ref.: http://www.cartigli.it/Graffiti_ed_iscrizioni/Graffiti_viaggiatori_sudan/Immagini/Graffito_Lepsius.jpg)

Whilst the Aswan 1906-07 expedition team were still on site Prof. Breasted received a letter from the Antiquities official of the Sudan Government from Khartoum. The official had reported graffiti at Naga and Musauwarat reading "H. Schliephack 1906." (pictured above). Schliephack was immediately dismissed, but he refused to be discharged and he sequestrated some optical equipment the party had left with him and wrote to Breasted about his intention of depositing it with the German Consul in Cairo. Breasted threatened him with jail and Schliephack relented (Breasted, 2009, pp. 208-9).

Schliephack first worked with Garstang in 1908 and 1909 at Meroë (Larson, 2006, p. xi). During his third season with Garstang at Meroë their party was solely made up of the professor, Mrs. Garstang and himself whilst he acted as Staff Assistant at the Institute of Archaeology in Liverpool (Garstang, 1910, p. 57; Garstang, 1913b, p. 73). The photographs taken illustrated John Garstang's publication: *Meroë: The City of the Ethiopians* (Garstang and Llewellyn Griffith, 1911).

Schliephack worked on with the University of Liverpool and eventually received a certified recognition of his work and achievements within the institute (UoL, GM).

After completing his seasons with Garstang he disappeared from all records, apart from, arguably, as first commanding Lieutenant Horst Schliephack who served with

the World War I Georgian Legion of Wehrmacht (1915-1918), under Georgian command, serving alongside the Ottoman battalions against the Russians (Nicolle, 1994, p. 40). The emblem for the Queen of Tamar merit award was also designed by a Lieutenant Horst Schliephack in 1917 and awarded to those serving with the Georgian Legion (Land, 1962, pp. 182-3; Werlich, 1981, p. 25). This artistic attribution and the unusual way of spelling his surname suggest that this is the same person. His experience in the Near East through travel, survey and languages and thus subsequent being stationing at Turkish *Giresun* persuades positive identification.

Appendix Three

A postcolonial view of the Oriental 'other' through the eyes of a westernised Ottoman – Osman Hamdi Bey

Osman Hamdi Bey's was an accomplished artist who studied in Paris (Trencsényi and Kopeček, 2007, p. 174). His paintings are "Orientalist" compositions replete with *hojas* (Ottoman leader) in traditional dress, fashionable Istanbuli women enjoying the sunshine wearing European fashions, architecturally historic mosques and stereotypical "Oriental" characters in rural garb. They are finely detailed paintings with emphasis on architecture and artefacts. Hamdi Bey relied heavily on location photographs and pictures of himself and his family members to create realistic pastiche scenarios. He only exhibited twice in Europe: in 1867 at the *Paris Exposition Universelle* and at the Ottoman exhibit at the Vienna International Exposition of 1975 where he curated the exhibition and illustrated two publications to accompany it (Shaw, 2003, p. 98). His portrayals could not have been popular since the style had gone out of fashion in Europe around fifty years earlier. Especially his latter paintings as these portray generic Oriental exotic worlds executed in the style of his Parisian teachers, Jean-Leon Gérôme and Gustave Boulanger, displaying old fashioned characteristics of French Orientalism.

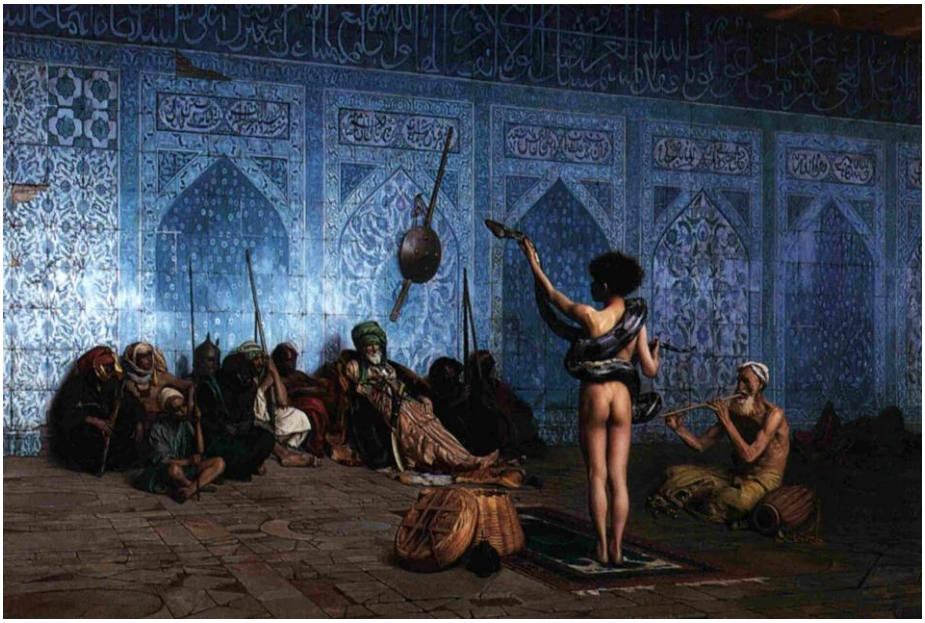
His best examples include "At the Mosque Door" (1891), "The Tortoise Trainer" (1906) and his "Young Emir Studying" (1905). It is most ironic that his work emulates a sanitised Orientalist artistic movement made popular by Eugéne Delacroix, with paintings such as "The Death of Sardanapale" (1827) and "The Massacre at Chios" (1824) which reflected a populist idea of the Ottoman as a barbaric, antiquated and definitely not European nation almost a decade earlier. Even more ironic is the fact that "The Massacre at Chios" in particular depicts where Hamdi Bey's own patriarchal family was murdered at Chios in 1822 leaving only his two year old father Ibrahim Edhem Pasha alive to be adopted and brought up by the Ottoman *Kaptan-I* (admiral). Interestingly Delacroix was brother-in-law to Raymond-Jean-Baptiste Verninac de Saint-Maur, the ship commander who transported the Luxor Obelisk to France from Egypt. De Saint-Maur declared that its removal was honourable in taking rightful European ownership of antiquity

"from the savage ignorance of the Turks" (De Saint-Maur, 1835, p. 38). This is the typical negative European mindset held at the time Delacroix's art was popular. Of course it was the exotic voyeurism of an imaginary Orient displayed in European salons that was popular, rather than the reality. Through the Delacroix, Gérôme and Boulanger traditions fashionable European circles could claim ownership of this Orient 'other' and thus tame it. The belief of the Ottoman and Islamic worlds as barbaric monsters threatening the Christian 'civilized' realm had held since the middle ages.

There is this apparent duality which Hamdi Bey lived with. As he restricted the Ottoman Antiquities laws, in his guise of Director of Ottoman Museums, he found it perfectly legitimate to using archaeological artefacts as a bargaining tool to acquire titles and favours in the West. He also used foreign archaeological interest to sell his own paintings where he insisted on depicting antiquated stereotypical Oriental images. The situation can only be surmised that whereas Garstang was successful by adapting and making the most of the changing social and political circumstances, Hamdi Bey appeared fixed in the Ottoman *ancien régime*'s modus operandi and was incapable of conceiving of his own culture as anything but the exotic Oriental 'other' as dictated to him in Europe.

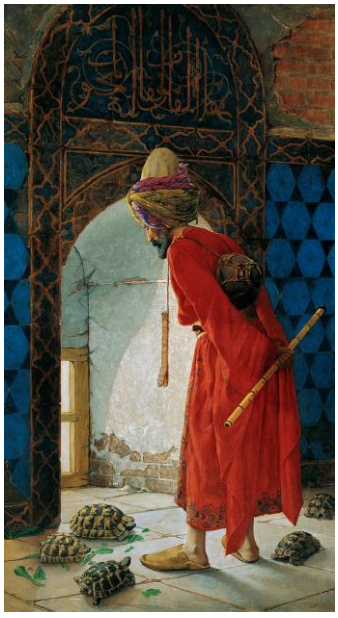
Eugène Delacroix, *Le Massacre de Scio*, 1824, Louvre Museum, Paris
(Ref.:http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/66/Eug%C3%A8ne_Delacroix_-_Le_Massacre_de_Scio.jpg/507px-Eug%C3%A8ne_Delacroix_-_Le_Massacre_de_Scio.jpg)

Gustave Boulanger – *Le Harem du Palais* – 1877 Private Collection (ref.: http://www.askart.com/AskART/photos/GDZ20111212_71030/162.jpg)



Jean-Léon Gérôme – The Snake Charmer c.1870 – Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute (ref.: http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_ZJLSg5AB-og/TEdEjCdv98I/AAAAAAAAEEg/svBjB2O1-ic/s320/Jean-Leon-Gerome_The_Snake_Charmer.jpg)

Osman Hamdi Bey - At the Mosque Door – 1891 – Penn Museum (Ref.: http://theartblog.org/blog/wp-content/uploaded/Bey_MosqueDoor.jpg)



Osman Hamdi Bey, The Turtle Trainer, 1906, Pera Museum (Ref.: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bf/Osman_Hamdi_Bey_001.jpg)

Osman Hamdi Bey, A Young Emir Studying, 1905, Walker Art Gallery, NML (ref.: http://www.flickr.com/photos/theurbansnapper/5338630261/sizes/l/in/photostream/)

Appendix Four

Location of Hittite sculpture elsewhere

The following section aims to locate the majority of the Hittite sculptures held within institutions in Turkey and across Europe. The Maraş lions are on display at the Istanbul Archaeology Museum (Curator, 2014a). The most significant Hittite accession to the Berlin Pergamon *Vorasiatischen* Museum has been that of the Sinjerli sculptures. The sites in Syria where the most interesting sculptures have been found include Tell Halaf, Maraş, Hamath, Carchemish, Sakçagözü, Rum-Qalah, and Zincirli. These and are represented in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, as are the free-standing stele of Carchemish, and the reliefs of Alaca Hüyük. Copies have replaced the originals on site however the gateway sphinxes are original (Mellink, 1970, pp. 25-26).

Until 2011 one of the Boğazköy sphinxes was held at the Istanbul Museum whilst its partner had been displayed at the Pergamon *Vorasiatischen* Museum since 1917. They have now been reunited and permanently displayed at the Boğazköy Museum in the Çorum district, Turkey. The Pergamon Museum also holds The Lion Hunt stele from Sakçagözü.

Still on site there are rock-sculptures with Hittite hieroglyphs, or in the Hittite style, scattered over a large part of Asia Minor, especially in the inland provinces. These include sites in Phrygia at Gavurkale, in Lycaonia at Ibreez and Eflatoun Pınar in Konya, at Karabel, and Mount Sipylos (Ehringhaus, 2005). The sculptures which Garstang uncovered at Sakçagözü were reburied after documentation and had paper squeezes taken. They were excavated again by Seton Lloyd in 1949 and many of the orthostats are now in Berlin Pergamon *Vorasiatischen* Museum, Germany and the Istanbul Museum and the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, Turkey.

Britain

The British Museum holds the biggest collection of Neo-Hittite artefacts due to the expeditions it sponsored between 1911 and 1914. Under the directorship of David

George Hogarth 35 artefacts were contributed. When Leonard Woolley took over his team contributed 321 artefacts with the assistance of T.E Lawrence who contributed 13 items on his own behalf. John Garstang contributed 337 artefacts in total including 12 relief plaster casts copied from Yazılıkaya and other sites, 72 artefacts from Mersin and 5 from Sakçagözü (Curator, 2013).

Some Hittite objects were always on view within the Near Eastern Gallery at the British Museum however a dedicated gallery was not on display as was in Liverpool (Curator, 2013). From 1892 there was a small display of Neo-Hittite inscribed casts and objects from Tell Jerablus Tahtani (near Carchemish) on the east side of the Central Saloon linking the 'Nimroud [*sic*] Central Saloon' and the 'Assyrian Saloon'. The guide lists eleven items which include portions of buildings , a semi-circular column with a 'draped figure', a fragmented winged figure, a basalt figure in relief, a bowl from Abu Habbah and a monolith with a king in relief from Tell Salahîyyeh near Damascus. Furthermore, a cast of the Maraş lion presented by Frederic D. Mocatta (1828-1905) in 1885 was also on view (Wallis Budge, 1900, p. 27). This is the only reference to a Hittite or Neo-Hittite cast on display at the British Museum and the guidebook does not offer any context regarding the Hittites. Another copy was commissioned as it was also included in the Hittite Gallery at Liverpool Museum between 1931 and 1941. This was lost during the Blitz attack. The British Museum copy is still extant and is on display at the Victoria Gallery and Museum, University of Liverpool until 2014.

Garstang contributed objects to the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery at Glasgow University however all objects originated from sites in Egypt and Palestine (Coupar, 2013).

The Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Oxford only attributes one object to Garstang. This is a Neolithic schematic human head (Curator, 2012).

The Fitzwilliam Museum at the University of Cambridge holds three objects contributed by Garstang, all Egyptian (Curator, 2014b).

Europe

Berlin *Vorasiatischen* Pergamum Museum, Germany

The Berlin Museum had the philologist and Assyriologist Hugo Winckler from the University of Berlin Oriental Institute working at Boğazköy with Theodor Makridi Bey. He was not very interested in the excavation or Hittite archaeology *per se* since his main concern was with translating the Boğazköy texts especially since he had trained under the controversial philologist Hans Ehelolf who was curator of the entire Boğazköy texts collection and its curation from 1928 (Güterbock, 1997, pp. 114-20). Winckler admitted as much to a fellow historian G. Kossinna pointing out that he had problems dealing with Indo-European matters that were beyond his own scholarly experience (*Archiv der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Kossinna-Nachlaß, Sign. 299*). Between 1915 and 1917 Berlin was the European centre for Hittitology (language). Otto Weber, the director of the Berlin Near Eastern department made an agreement with Halil Edhem of the Istanbul museum and thousands of tablets were sent to Berlin (Klengel, 2002, p. 101). It appears that these texts were sent back to Turkey progressively as they got published. Those which were left unpublished were sent back in 1989 to the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara (Güterbock, 1997, pp. 1-5). It appears that the Hittite tablets were photographed and it was the photographs that were exhibited. Between 1931 and 1933 Kurt Bittel also sent Hittite tablets to Berlin (Collins, 2007, p. 15). It does not appear that the museum held a Hittite exhibition, other than a photographic one, contemporaneous with the one in Liverpool.

France

The Louvre Museum database attributes only one item to John Garstang, an offering tablet found at Meroë in Sudan and 24 artefacts of certain Hittite and Neo-Hittite origin (Pierrat-Bonnefois, 2013).

Denmark

The *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* in Copenhagen, Denmark does not hold any Hittite objects since the founder Carl Jacobsen was not involved with this period in

Anatolia, as was the fashion across Europe (Bagh-Rutland email correspondence, 30/08/2010) however there are Egyptian artefacts contributed by Garstang. He maintained a close working relationship with Prof. Harald Ingholt, (assistant director and secretary to the Carlsberg Foundation 1925-1930; director of Hamā dig 1931-38) Nationalmuseet also in Copenhagen (UoL, GM).

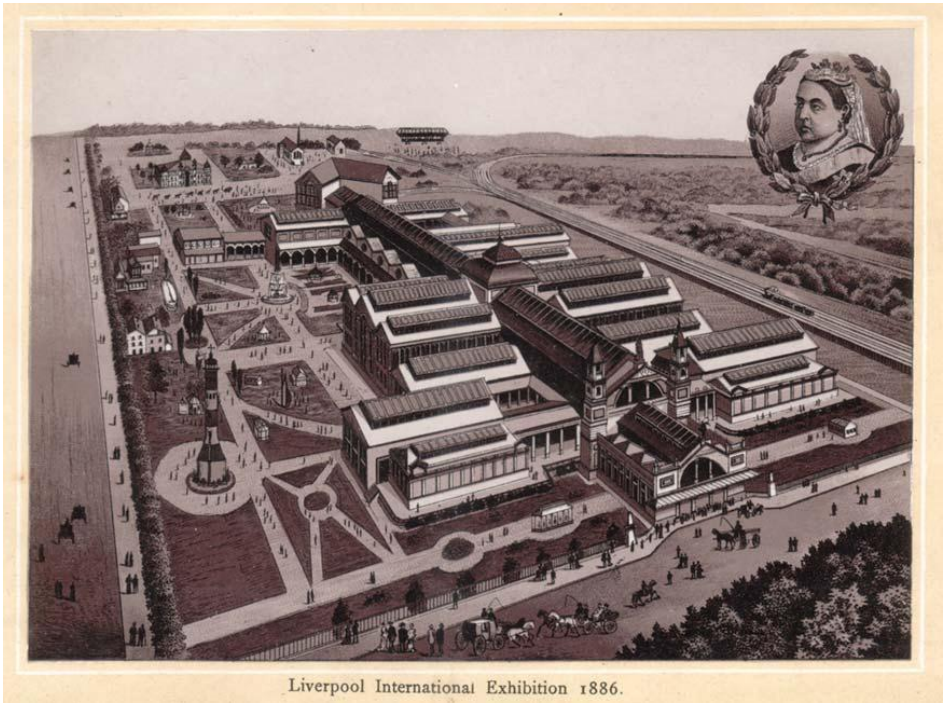
Adana holds various Hittite artefacts and sculpture (Curator, 2005); however they are not clear as to who contributed to the collection. Garstang contributed artefacts from his Mersin (Garstang, 1953), Yümüktepe (1936) and Sirkerli Höyük excavations, including a lion column base (Seton-Williams, 1988).

Appendix Five

The Great British Exhibitions as precursors to public museums

Britain

The relationship between visitors and museums in Britain has been formulated in a large part by the tradition and experience of holding Great British Empire Exhibitions. The first one, the Crystal Palace Exhibition was organised by Prince Albert in 1851. After its great success it became very popular to hold them all over London and the rest of Britain. Similar regional exhibitions were held in major towns such as Glasgow, Dublin, Bradford, and Edinburgh and in May 1886 also in Liverpool; known locally as the "Shipperies" Exhibition (image below) (Greenhalgh, 2000).



The 'International Exhibition of Navigation, Travelling, Commerce and Manufactures'. Image from Lewis' Souvenir Guide, 1886 (Clipperton, 1886)

Commemorative “Shipperies Exhibition” medal 1886 (Images by Rob Ainsworth at http://liverpoolhistorysocietyquestions.files.wordpress.com/2011/02/1296703776689.jpg?w=284andh=300)

By 1871 a successful formula was struck upon which emphasised educational displays, put on in epic scales, which attracted visitors in vast numbers (Greenhalgh, 2000, p. 75). Until 1887 exhibitions were held by rich philanthropists who claimed they wished to promote international understanding by bringing cultures of other nations to the masses. Themes generally leant toward manufacturing and trade however the profile was kept up with related sections on fine arts – considered ‘higher pleasures’ (Greenhalgh, 2000, pp. 79-80). The Franco-British Exhibition of 1908 held an art section in a pavilion with Classical sculpture lined up on either side, with English examples facing French ones. The low attendance figures within this section made it clear that the working class sector, who by far attended Exhibitions most assiduously, had no interest or ability to appreciate such 'high arts'. Furthermore surveys concluded that the middle classes only attended through a sense of cultural duty. Both traits of visitor demographics were found to continue in museums and galleries later on.

The decorative arts and machinery halls were much more popular. All the displays had to, in some way, suggest that they had an educational angle and imposing the idea that attendance was for self improvement (Greenhalgh, 2000, p. 87). Thus the

museum blueprint of leisure with overtones of education and self-improvement was set.

Imperial aspects at International Exhibitions

By 1924 the British Empire comprised of 57 countries and dominions. On paper the Empire looked prosperous and secure (Luscombe, 1996). This was also the year that the British Empire Exhibition was held, attracting 27 million visitors (Goswamy, 2004). It aimed to bringing to the attention of the public that new sources of wealth could be produced in the exploitation of raw materials found within the Empire; to foster inter-imperial trade; to open new world markets for 'Dominion and British' products; and to promote interaction between the different cultures held within the Empire. This contrasted Britain's industrial proficiency with the products provided by the dominions and colonies (1924). The East India Company held one of the largest stands and its aim was to simultaneously glorify and domesticate the mysteries of the exotic subcontinent for the public, by displaying its material culture in Hyde Park (Greenhalgh, 1988, p. 54). Even as they animated the objects on display with stories of productivity, oriental splendour and conquest these texts also produced surprising and unintended narratives that established the relationship between colony and metropolis. Britain's history of rule on the subcontinent was criticised, and ultimately questioned the ethics of progress, industry and capitalism that the Exhibition celebrated (Kreigel, 2001).

This reaction was less apparent during earlier Imperial Exhibitions such as that of 1851 where on the other hand the Ottoman stand at this same exhibition was a great success. It held 3300 objects (Cole, 1851, pp. 316-8). Twelve of the thirteen commissioners appointed to promote the Ottoman exhibition were native Turks, including Ismail Pasha, Minister for Commerce (Minutes of the Proceedings of HM's Commissioners for the Exhibition (London: HMSO, 1851, pp.: 286-290). The

physical location of the Ottoman stand within the Exhibition was of great concern to the commissioners as it was essential to project a profile that was decidedly non-exotic and progressive (Deringil, 2001, pp. 154-65). Twenty-seven out of around 2500 awards went to the Ottoman stand (Public records office, BT 342/3, no. 975) and the catalogue of the Turkish section stated that the Western education for Turkish Youth was to continue the improved rate of progress apparent and supported by the modern sultan (Cole, 1851, p. 1). The author made it clear it would be absurd to even consider that Turkey would ever match Britain; it was only entitled to British approval due to incipient Westernization and its belief that Europeanization was progress. Despite this attitude many key organisers and designers of the day expressed dismay at the poor state of British design and technology, while admiration was lavished upon the Turkish and North African objects (Auerbach, 1999, p. 22).

A schism existed between official political discourse claiming to represent the national view of foreign cultures and that of individuals (Bhabha, 2007, p. 122) who, despite making part of the contemporary imperial population, were able to be subjective. The other side of the coin appeared from popular commentators of the day who refused to acknowledge the ethnicities they faced as equal to their own and chose to reinforce derogatory superficial stereotypes regarding physical appearance, dress and language for comedy purposes (Tod, 1851, pp. 41-2). Yet the strict divisor of 'otherness' that Said (2003, p. 206) attributes to Britain and Turkey was not always so and in fact was dependent upon oscillating European politics. The catalogue describes Turkey as kin to British culture (Cole, 1851, p. 7). This positive view remained until the Bulgarian crisis of 1876.[1] The savagery displayed placed the Turks back in the role of barbarian until defeated by the Russians; then Turkey was praised once more for emulating the Western example. We observe a vacillating binary relationship between two disparate empires who reciprocated the view of 'otherness' simultaneously mimicking a culture which they perceived as both kin and other (Bhabha, 2007, pp. 104-8).

[1] W.E. Gladstone, 'Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East', London, 1876)

The 1924 by contrast was inward looking with a national focus and few imperial references. This was an exhibition solely about Britain going through a crisis of self-confidence. During the official opening this speech was given:

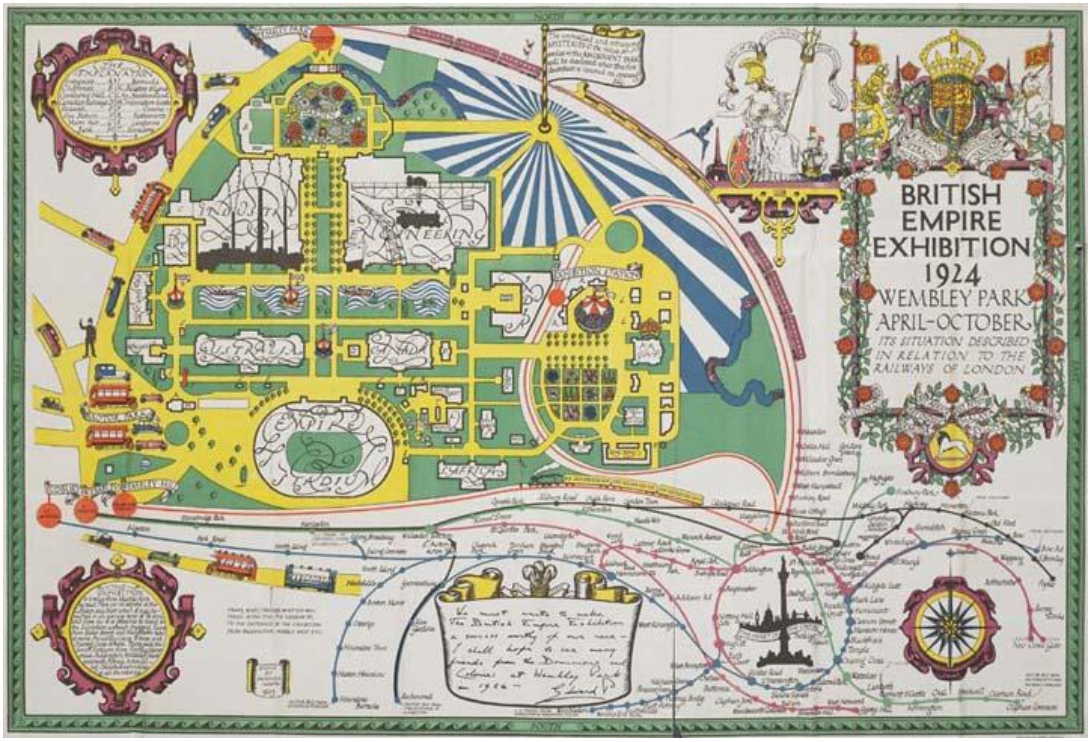
> "[To believe] and trust in the British way of life, not with any boastful self-confidence nor with any aggressive self-advertisement, but with sober and noble trust that by holding fast to that which is good and rejecting [...] evil we may continue to be a nation at unity with itself and of service to the world"

(Archbishop of Canterbury, 1924 (Taylor, 1951)

Despite the huge number of visitors and popularity the exhibition made a loss of £1.5 million. Virginia Woolf wrote "Thunder at Wembley" (1924) after attending this exhibition. She wrote of impending doom overshadowing the whole Imperial fanfare:

> "The Empire is perishing; the bands are playing; the Exhibition is in ruins."

(Woolf, 2008, p. 171)



British Empire Exhibition Map, 1924 (Ref: Museum of London: http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/museumoflondon/images/microsites/derivatives//exploring/158/full/83_819_4.jpg)

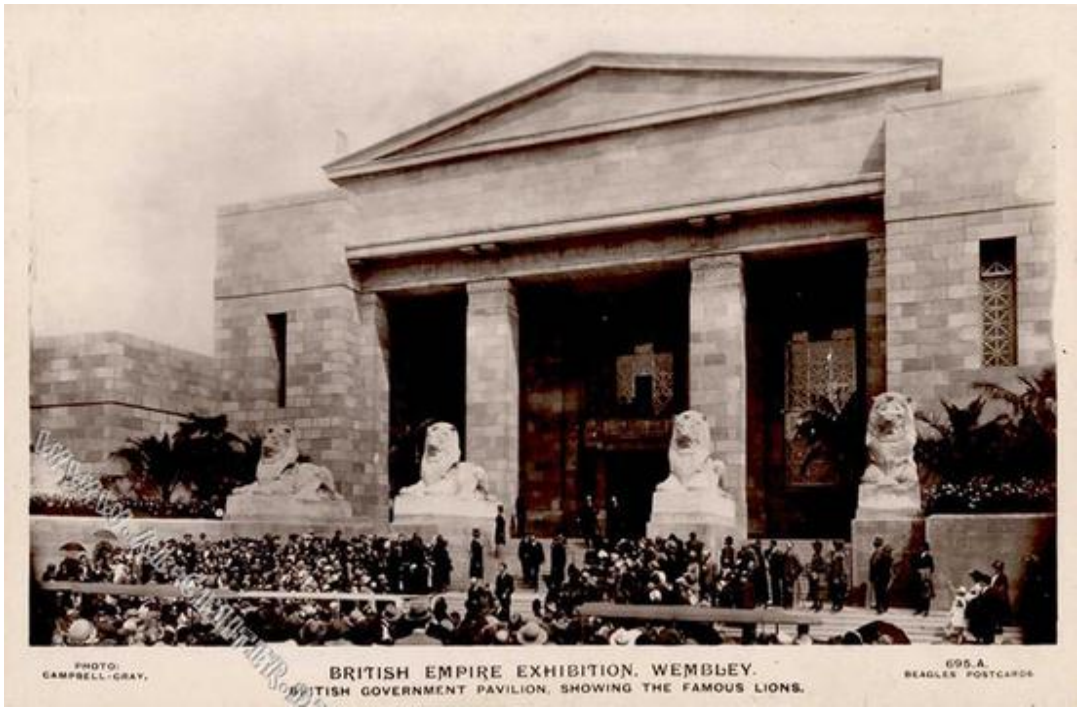
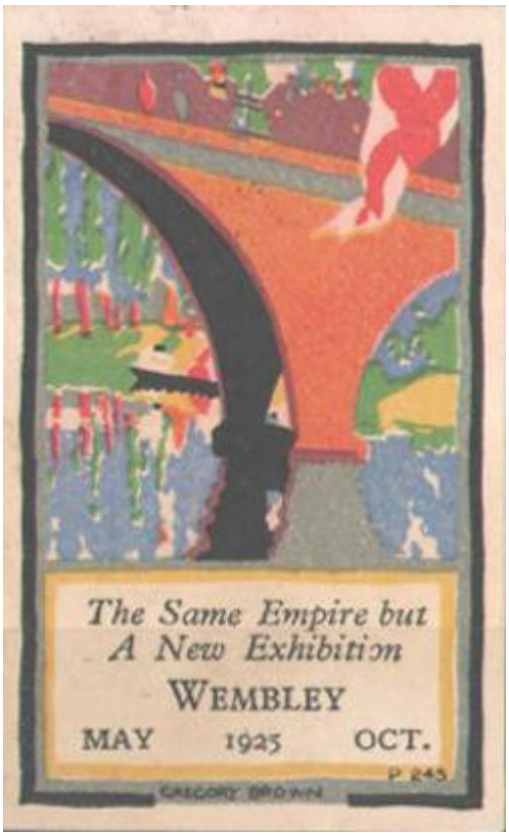


Image from The British Empire Exhibition, 1924: Official Catalogue (Ref: http://assets1.qypecdn.net/uploads/photos/0291/8227/AK_11040763_gr_1_gallery2.jpg)



Advertising poster for the British Empire Exhibition, 1925 (Ref.: http://assets0.qypecdn.net/uploads/photos/0291/8225/1851779_gallery2.jpg)

In 1926, the Empire Marketing Board (EMB) was established to promote inter-Empire trade, scientific research and economic analysis. The EMB organised exhibitions, “Empire Shopping Weeks”, Empire shops as well as general public marketing through poster campaigns, around a hundred imperial documentary films and radio programs, newspaper articles and advertisements, lectures, school visits, and its own library (Constantine, 1986). This was replaced by the Imperial Preference system in 1933 aiming to consolidate, promote and sustain Britain’s position as a global power as competition increased from Germany and the United States (Glickman, 1947, p. 454).

Appendix Six

A study of Orientalism from the 17th Century Neo-Classical Europe

The Ashmolean Museum was opened in 1683 to a fee-paying general public and is still considered to have been the first public museum within Europe. It was a place of research for royalty and scholars of the Oxbridge universities and not an establishment open for general educational purposes (Wood, 1820, p. 358).

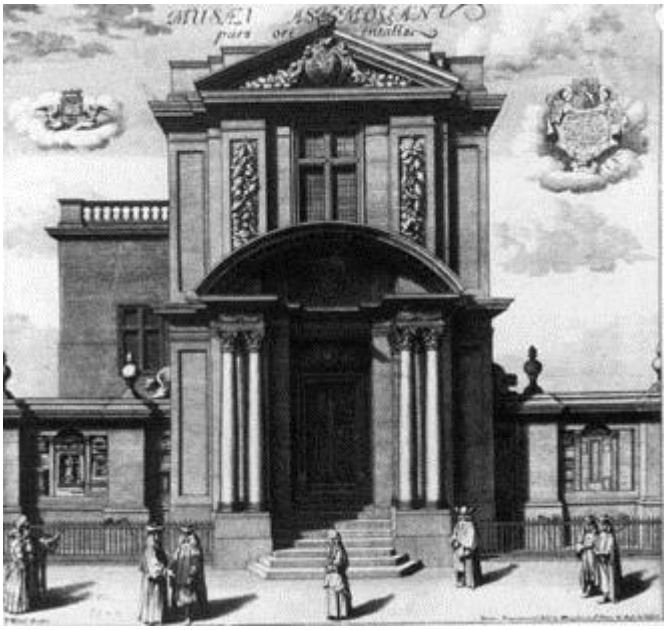


Image: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford ca. 1683 *(Ref.: http://www.ashmolean.org/ash/amulets/tradescant/images/trad-01-med.jpg)*

At the height of the Neoclassic and Enlightenment Movements in 1733, the English Society of Dilettanti was formed as a dining club by the English Grand Tourists group to collect together those learned gentlemen of society who had met during the Grand Tour of the continent which, by 1762, had extended into Ottoman lands like Greece and Israel (McMurran, 2011, p. 140). To have been on a 'Grand Tour' and also a member of an antiquarian society implied a certain social elevated class and status within both British and European circles (Redford, 2008, pp. 40-41).

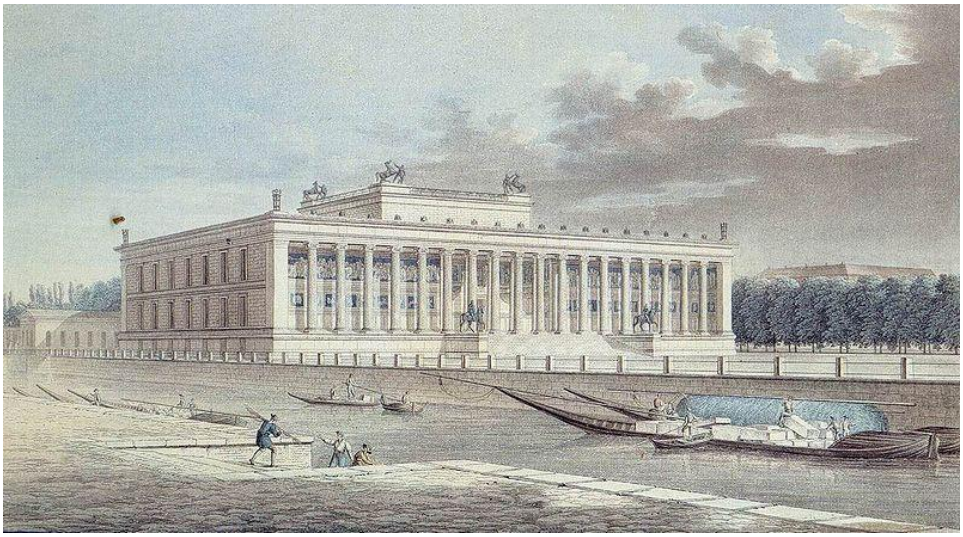
Richard Pococke published his Grand Tour in "*A Description of the East and some other Countries"* in 1745. This consisted of observations of Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, Candia (modern Heraklion, Crete), Asia Minor, Greece, and parts of Europe. This was dedicated to the Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to whom Pococke was domestic chaplain (Stephen and Lee, 1929, p. 13). The romantic portrayal of such adventuring travel and discovery recorded the traces of a great past which was to be recalled and revived by aristocratic treasure hunters such as Sir Charles Cockerell and John Foster Junior (Temple of Apollo at Bassae, 1812), along with Europeans such as Carl Haller von Hallerstein, Jacob Linckh, Otto Magnus von Stackelberg and Ernst Heinrich Tölken who discovered the temples of Aphaea and Zeus Panhellenios at Aegina (1811) (Hoheisel, 1863, pp. 411-523; Rodenwaldt, 1957; Shanks, 1996, p. 72).

Richard Pococke in full Ottoman dress by Jean-Étienne Liotard (ca. 1739) with the Topkapı Palace and various symbols of Hellenic, Byzantine and Turkish symbolism. *(Ref.: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5f/Jean-%C3%89tienne_Liotard_004.jpg)*

In 1748 James Stuart met Nicholas Revett whilst on the Italian leg of his Grand Tour. They joined the Society of Dilettanti in 1751 and in 1762 their architectural rediscoveries were published in London as *The Antiquities of Athens and Other Monuments of Greece* (Spencer, 2009, p. 127). This triggered the "Greek Revival", as Cockerell defined it in 1842 (Turner, 2000, p. 198). Neo-classical buildings were being commissioned across Northern Europe and Britain including Hagley Hall (1758-9) (Worsley, 1985), Downing College (1800s) followed by the building of Covent Garden (1808-9), the General Post Office (1824-9), University College London (1826-30), the National Gallery (1832-38), twenty-three churches (including St Pancras Church), Edinburgh's New Town, the Palace of Westminster (1836) and the Theatre Royal (1858) (Mordaunt Crook, 1995, pp. 13-18). In 1817 the Society of Dilettanti had published "*The Unedited Antiquities of Attica: Comprising the Architectural Remains of Eleusis Rhammus, Sunium, and Thorcus"*, which inspired the flurry of architectural projects mentioned above.

Public museums as "Greek Revival" developments in Europe

In Berlin (Brandenburg Gate 1788-91; Altes Museum, Königliches Museum, 1823-30) and Munich (Glyptothek 1816-30) patronised by King Friedrich Wilhelm III, King Friedrich Wilhelm IV and King Ludwig I. Johann Joachim Winckelmann published 'Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums' (History of Ancient Art) (1764) and in Austria Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach had published his history of architecture 'Entwurf einer historischen Architektur' (A Plan of Civil and Historical Architecture) in 1721. However, in contrast with Britain, the 'Greek Revival' in Northern Europe seemed to apply immediately to public building projects and monuments rather than private estates.



Altes Museum by Friedrich Alexander Thiele (ca. 1830), Berlin *(Ref.: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/1/18/Berlin_Altes_Museum_Friedrich_Thiele_1830.jpg/800px-Berlin_Altes_Museum_Friedrich_Thiele_1830.jpg)*

In France in 1792 the French Museum Commission was established in Paris to oversee the opening of the Louvre-Tuileries Palace Museum with the intention of making Paris 'the capital of the arts and the Athens of the modern world and as part of a campaign for "public instruction" (Kersaint, 1791). By the early 19th century various so called "public" museums in Europe had opened however they were not considered venues for public access until much later (Wittlin, 1949, p. 111). By 1848 the Louvre museum had become national property and the Assyrian archaeology section was opened in 1881 (Nave, 1998, pp. 42-43).

Louvre Museum Colonnade, Paris*(Ref.: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a6/3888ParigiLouvre.JPG)*

Appendix Seven

Dr Douglas Alexander Allan (1896-1967) – biography of the director of the Public Museum of Liverpool, 1929-1949

Dr Douglas Alexander Allan was thirty-three when he took up his post as director of Museums in Liverpool on the 16th of September 1929. This appointment followed a position as Lecturer in Geology at Armstrong College, University of Durham from 1925; having been awarded a doctorate in geology by the University of Edinburgh in 1923. Prior to his doctorate studies (1919- 1921) he worked with Dr William Speirs Bruce (a staunch Scottish nationalist) on his final three expeditions to Spitzbergen, Norway, on a variety of geological expeditions. This led to him becoming assistant to the professor of Geology at the University of Edinburgh and Falconer Memorial Fellow until 1925.

Notably he joined the Royal Scottish Geographical Society aged 24, and was first elected Fellow four years later, then made member of Council in 1945, Vice President from 1948, and President from 1954. He held this position for four years. During the Second World War Douglas was a member of the Government Post-war Reconstruction Committee on Museums and Art Galleries. Between 1929 and 30 and again 1945 until 1949 he acted as Swiney Lecturer in Geology at the branch of the British Museum, which today is known as the Natural History Museum - a post exclusive to University of Edinburgh geology graduates.

Dr Doulas A Allan (1896 – 1967)(Image courtesy of NML Image archives)

After leaving Liverpool Public Museums in 1945 he became Director of the Royal Scottish Museum until retirement in 1961. He was an early convert to what today is called 'outreach activities' which stimulate interests in museums through lectures, films, exhibitions and school visits. He also supported micro-museums in outlaying centres. All of these ideas he implemented in Edinburgh and its enclaves. In 1945 he received a medal from the Liverpool Geological Society (1945) in recognition of his geological work dealing with the petrology of the Highland Border of Scotland and Angus; and also for his services to the society's *Proceedings* publication, lectures and articles during his fifteen years in Liverpool (Gale, 1945, p. 508). He held the position of President of the Museums Association for four years and treasurer for six. Furthermore he directed the first seminar of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in New York. He also served on the Executive Committee of the International Council of Museums and various other similar organisations, both Royal and local.

Smail (1967, p. 198) felt that Allan had significantly developed the field of adult education in geography and geology. His expertise in the field of museums and in maximising its impact on education in the region is apparent from the staff reformations, outreach programmes and large increase in visitor numbers at the Liverpool Public Museum during his tenure there. Allan was awarded with a C.B.E. in 1964, made Knight of the Danish Order of the Dannebrog, Commander of the

Swedish Order of Vasa and honorary Fellow of the Heriot-Watt College in Edinburgh (Smail, 1967, p. 198).

Appendix Eight

Dorothy Margaret Vaughan (DOB/D unknown)

Dorothy Vaughan, the temporary curator who assembled the Hittite collection display at the Liverpool Public Museum between 1929 and 1931 had graduated from the Institute of Archaeology, University of Liverpool in 1910. Her BA thesis is titled 'The influence in the Roman State of revenue, property and finance during the age of Cicero' (Thesis 2, Sydney Jones Library, UoL). She won a university scholarship from the history department in 1910 for her master's research degree (*Times, 1910*).

The Pitt Rivers Museum they have a record of a Miss Dorothy M Vaughan as a member of the Oxford University Anthropology Society from 1909 until 1920. She is also recorded as having donated artefacts to the same museum in 1957 and resided in Oxford. She remained actively involved in the historical economics and socio-politics of Europe and Turkey throughout her life.

Her publications include:

D.M. Vaughan, 'Great Peoples of the Ancient World', Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1923

----------, 'The Mediterranean World in Greek and Roman Times', London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1927

----------, 'Outlines of Ancient History', London: Longmans, Green and co. Ltd., 1928

----------, 'Buyers and Makers: An Introduction to Social Economics, London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1929

----------, 'Europe and the Turk: a pattern of alliances, 1350-1700', Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1954

Appendix Nine

Ms Elaine Tankard

(Image Millard, 2010)

Elaine Tankard was an alumna of the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool, where she read Classics and archaeology. Following her master's degree she worked in Greece for three years as an illustrator, photographer and antique art specialist. In 1931 she was employed as curator by the Liverpool Public Museum in Liverpool. As Keeper she developed a great interest in museum display and how to 'help the imagination of the inexpert visitor' through display of context (Tankard, 1936). In 1939 Tankard had compiled all the evacuation lists of objects which were to be shipped out to houses and churches in Wales and Cheshire. The larger permanent exhibitions could not be moved and thus destroyed, as were the casts within the Hittite and Aegean Gallery. Following the end of the war Tankard became a vociferous campaigner for the reconstruction of the Public Museum and made huge step forward in increasing their collections (Martin, 2011, p. 14).

Children's Corner at the Liverpool Public Museum (Millard, 2010, courtesy of NML archives)

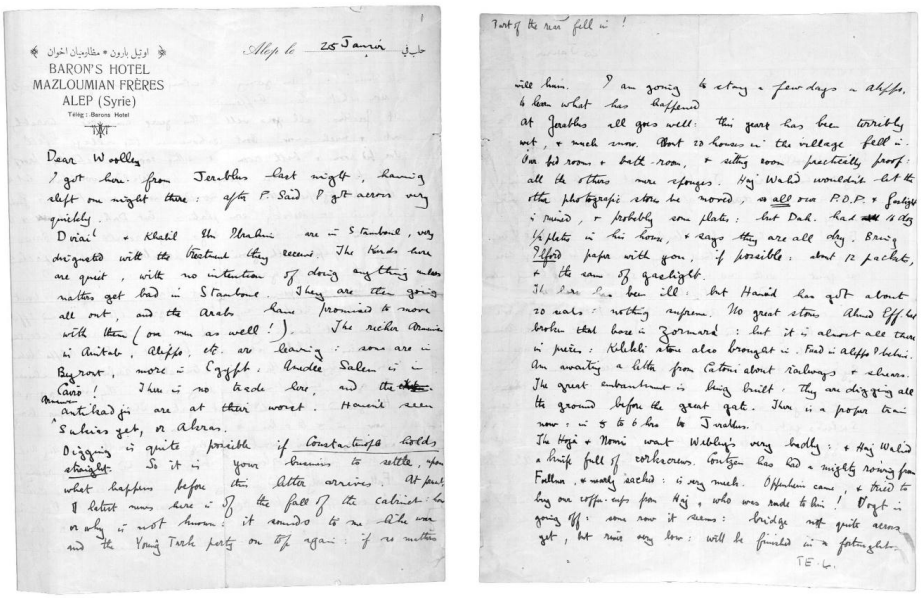
Appendix Ten

Lawrence and Woolley: knowledge collection in the NE during the early 20th century

T.E. Lawrence's diary entry for July 27th 1911 makes it clear that a regular stock of artefacts was looted and sold in the streets and bazaars of Kefr Sheikh (Syrian at the time) both by organised locals who made a living through this market and also by casual villagers who sold sporadically whenever artefacts came to hand. Lawrence bought a bronze horse in a village, which had been found in the fields nearby Kefr Shheikh, as he followed the road to Jerablus. As he went along he actively sought to acquire seals at every village under orders of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. He refers to the available types as either as a "common sort" of seal and wrote of his surprise at paying a higher price than he had been accustomed to pay. By the trip he was describing he found himself haggling for antiquities on the Aleppo-Biredjik road at Tell Isan/Nughri. During his stay he bought two stones, one a seal depicting two figures and a 'sacred' tree and the other a steatite amulet seal in the form of an animal's head (ox, cat, sheep or horse). The locals also offered him a small Hittite pot of the Carchemish period for the village's Tell. He found a Roman relief which considered disappointing on the way to the Jerablus (Lawrence, 2005, p. 39).

Similarly, the following August, he visits an antiques dealer in Aleppo seeking to buy Hittite seals, which he described as red, green and black. At the port of Jebail (modern Byblos, Lebanon), as he prepared to sail to Marseilles he wrote that he managed to "carries off a few [*pottery*] samples" which all manage to escape the Ottoman customs authorities by generously tipping the Thomas Cook agent (Lawrence, 2005, pp. 38-40, 55, 61). Correspondence between Woolley and Lawrence also report fierce competition between British and German teams (in this case Oppenheim) as they sought to buy up antiquities from dealers before each other (BM archives, CE32/17/1, letter Lawrence-Woolley, 20th January, 1913 [accessed online: 02.06.14]).

These diary entries and letters tell of a highly developed and open antiquities market in the Near East, which was sustained through professional local networks of suppliers, dealers and accommodating customs officials. Hittite seals were highly and openly sought after; something which was reflected in the inflated price Lawrence had to pay.



BARON'S HOTEL
MAZLOUMIAN FRÈRES
ALEP (Syrie)

Dear Woolley

I got here from Jerablus last night, having slept one night there: after P. Said I got across very quickly.

Djemal & Khalil the Khedive are in Stamboul, very disgusted with the treatment they receive. The Kurds here are quiet, with no intention of doing anything unless matters get bad in Stamboul. They are then going all out, and the Arabs have promised to move with them (one man as well!). The richer Armenians in Antab, Aleppo, etc. are leaving: some are in Beyrout, more in Egypt, Rendel Salem is in Cairo! There is no trade here, and the Armenian antiquity-heads are at their worst. Hamdi seems Sultan's pet, as always.

Digging is quite possible if Constantinople holds straight. So it is your business to settle, for what happens before the Allies arrives. At present Detroit runs here if the fall of the cabinet: but nobody is not known: it sounds to me like war and the Young Turk party on its own: if so matters

Part of the new fell in!

will burn. I am going to stay a few days in Aleppo, to hear what has happened.

At Jerablus all goes well: the guard has been terribly wet, & much more. About 20 horses in the village fell in: I've had room & bath-room, & sitting room practically proof: all the others were sponges. Haj Wahid wouldn't let the other photographic plates be moved, as all was P.O.P. & Godfrey's ruined, & probably some plates: but Dah. had left his plates in his house, & says they are all dry. Bring Gifford paper with you, if possible: about 12 packets, & the case of gaslight.

Ali Dar has been ill: but Hamid has quite almost 20 mats: nothing unseen. No great stone about Eff. has broken that bore in Jerablus: but it is almost all there in pieces: Kalaat also brought in: Fuad in Aleppo I believe. Am awaiting a letter from Cairo about railways & chiefs. The great embankment is being built: they are digging all the ground before the great gate. There is a proper train now: in 5 to 6 hrs to Jerablus.

The Hajis & Nomi want Wahbi's very badly: & Haj Wahid a whole shipful of corkscrews. Lovejoy has had a mighty rowing from Fellows, & really deserves it very much. Offenheim came, & tried to buy our coffee-cups from Haj, who was made to buy! Dayt is going off: some row it seems: Bridge not quite accounted for, but runs very low: will be finished in a fortnight.

TE L.

T.E. Lawrence to L. Woolley correspondence, 25th January 1913 (Image courtesy of British Museum archives: CE32/17/1)

Lawrence's letter however was mostly concerning the unsettled political situation in Cairo, Aleppo and all over Turkey and how this would affect their archaeological excavations as the Berlin to Baghdad railway was being constructed. The letter mentions the Ottoman cabinet as about to collapse due to the popularity of the rising Turkish Youth. It also mentions particular ethnicities such as affluent Kurds and Armenians leaving the country (CE32/17/1, BM archives). Even before the beginning of the First World War Woolley and Lawrence were recruited to complete the mapping of the terrain not covered by the Palestine Exploration Fund as part of their survey of Western Palestine in the 1870s, in which Lord Kitchener was involved. They were indirectly recruited by Lord Kitchener whilst acting as consul general in Egypt through the Military Operations Office in London. They became intelligence officers and photographers based in Cairo and the Negev

Desert with the British Army (Wilson, 1989, p. 42; Chapman and Gibson, 1996, pp. 94-96).

For further on the social background to museums in Britain in the 19th century and knowledge collection in the Near East during the 20th century see Ismail, M., (2011), *Wallis Budge: Magic and Mummies in London and Cairo*, Kilkerran, Scotland, Hardinge Simpole.

Appendix Eleven

Overview of plaster cast collections

The following section looks at the role played by plaster casts of sculpture within museum collections. The first issue of the journal *The Museum of Classical Antiquities* of January 1851 opened with an impassioned plea from the editor. As befitted the time, he was mainly concerned with Roman antiquities, however the sentiment would have resonated with any variant of interest in antique art and architecture.

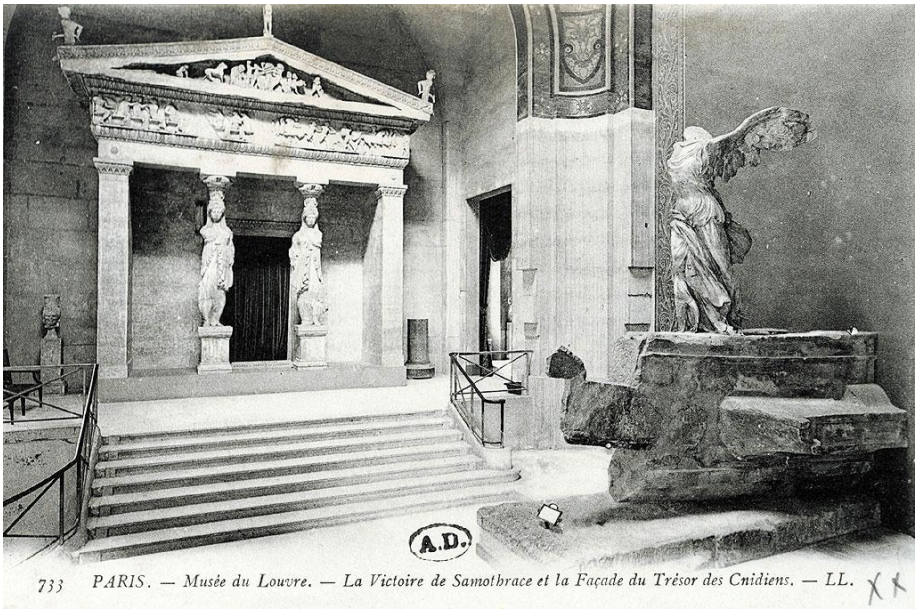
> For those [sculptures] of which to-day are in the Circus Flaminius, you will see to-morrow on the Tarpeian rock, if, indeed, you do not rather find them in some kiln, or in the foundation of some rustic cottage. Even that which by some diligent hand has been brought and fixed in a conspicuous place, you will afterwards find has been torn down by some ignorant or careless person, and trodden under horses' feet and reduced to powder.
>
> […], I have collected many inscriptions, that under your (minds of the powerful) auspices they may be rendered lasting, and delivered down to posterity; thought the marbles and brazen tables on which they are inscribed are broken, melted, or otherwise destroyed every hour.
>
> Why should we not invoke curse on these violators of sacred antiquity? Let them tear, burn or break other things – they should spare at least the inscriptions and statues which our ancestors have bequeathed to us, wrought with so much skill and dignity. For what subtlety, conciseness, and elegance may be shown in those, and why symmetry, perfection, grace, and majesty in these, when the few which have not eluded our researches excite in us so much admiration, and prove to what perfection the genius of the ancients attained.

(Falkener, 1853)

The plaster casts of notable sculpture were enthusiastically acquired for museums and galleries throughout Europe, America and their colonies with this 'cast craze' occurring around the end of the 19th century. In Cape Town their cast collection

was presented to the gallery in 1908 and described as a ‘great gift’ and as ‘an immense encouragement to art, not only in the Peninsula, but in the whole Colony’ (South African National Gallery Library, ‘Acquisitions, 1870-1947’, SAFAA Minute Book to 23 Jan. 1913, press cutting ‘Fine Arts Association’, 15 June 1908.). In fact this collection was the main attraction within the gallery with paintings, lithographs and photographs as an afterthought in a smaller annexe. Similarly in Melbourne, Australia; the National Gallery had established their cast collection in the 1880s (Galbally, 1988, p. 29), same as the Slater Memorial Museum in Connecticut; Buffalo in Massachusetts and the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh at the turn of the century. This trend of collecting casts appears to have preceded other forms of art and archaeological collections within public galleries worldwide (Connor, 1989, pp. 228-229).

By the 1850s the copying of works of art had become a lucrative business all over Europe. Auguste Gerber was one of the manufacturers active in Germany, and a number of Anglo-Italian businesses were established in London, most notably those set up by Giovanni Franchi and Domenico Brucciani (Baker, 1982). The enthusiasm and ubiquity of plaster cast collections was extensive enough during the latter 19th century for Sir Arthur Conan Doyle to place them at the heart of his ‘The Adventure of the Six Napoleons’ (1903-04) where the fictional London manufacturing company, Gelder and Co. is run by a German and Italians (Conan Doyle, p.176, 2008).



Louvre museum, Paris: L: cast of the facade of the treasure house of Knidos; R: original Nike of Samothrace.
(ref.: Library of Decorative Arts, Paris, Maciet collection)

Between 1860 and 1910 the sculpture cast was found in schoolrooms, universities, museums, art galleries and exhibition rooms. These objects acted in situ for the originals for archaeological exhibits and artistic architectural and cultural educational purposes. The reason for their sudden proliferation and popularity within 18th century England was the huge renaissance of Hellenistic Classical culture. However only the few and rich could afford the originals, which they usually kept to themselves, and thus the cast could cheaply and easily substituted the original and be on display for the general public. Whole sculptural collections could be bought in one go and quickly displayed within a dedicated gallery. For archaeologists and architects casts provided all the detail necessary for research purposes. In Britain the Victoria and Albert Museum (then known as the Brompton Boilers as part of the South Kensington Museum) housed the cast collection for a long time. Even in the 1870s it was apparently the largest and most comprehensive collection of casts of post-classical European sculpture and served as a model for others as widespread as Edinburgh and Pittsburgh. These mostly survived the effects of war and are now included in the Cast Courts at the Victoria and Albert Museum of art and design (VandA) (Baker, 1982).

The Angkorian heritage in the Musée Indo-chinois at the Palais Trocadéro in Paris, in front the naga (snake-headed) balustrade from Angkor Wat (Ref.: École National Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, ENSBA Paris)

The Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in Paris and the *Kongelige Afstøbningssamling* in Copenhagen held significant European cast collections which are still extant today. Most of the others have been variously destroyed following the destructions of the World Wars as occurred to the Hittite Cast collection at the Liverpool Public Museum and the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool. There were also travelling casts exhibitions such as the French Cambodian Temple of Angkor Wat (1860s-1930s) which was installed at various galleries, museums and similar institutions as a way of promoting imperial support through the displayed ownership of these arts and the cultures they represented (Falser, 2011).

The plaster cast of the 12th-century Madeleine church in Vézelay at the Musée de sculpture compare, Palais Trocadéro,Paris, 1894.(ref: Photographie du musée de sculpture comparée, Paul Robert/CAPa/archives MMF)

It is telling that casts of famous statuary appeared in large profusion within the 1851 Great Exhibition while other forms of art were virtually excluded (Connor, 1989, pp. 209, 219; Tietze, 1998). At the VandA the 'improvement of public taste in design' and the 'application of fine art to objects of utility' were among the museum's primary aims meaning that casts of architectural and ornamental work were necessary educational tools regarded as 'superior to drawings, as they render the whole treatment to the mind as palpably as possible.' A collection of 'cases of ornamental art of all periods and countries' was being assembled from 1841 onwards by the Government School of Design and this was taken over by the Museum when it was installed at Marlborough House. Through an enlargement of the cast collection in 1857 it was hoped that 'the country would have at a comparatively small cost what has long been desired, a national museum of architecture and architectural decoration which could scarcely fail to be of the greatest service in an educational point of view, whether as affecting the progress of art in its noblest works or the improvement of tastes in the application of art to the production of our manufacturers'. Nevertheless in 1905 the principals of the University of London requested its transfer to the British Museum where a dedicated Cast Gallery was completed in 1909 (Jenkins, 1992, p. 214).

Architectural Museum, Brompton, South Kensington, 1852 (The Builder, vol. XV, 1857, p.391)

The architectural casts museum at the Brompton Government building, now the VandA Casts Court collection (Godwin, 1857, p. 391). In 1867 Henry Cole, director of the museum at the Paris International Exhibition assisted by the Foreign Office convinced fifteen European princes to an agreement that would establish a formal procedure for the exchange of casts between European museums. This was recorded as the "1867 Convention for the Promoting Universally Reproductions of works of Art for the Benefit of Museums of all Countries". Its main aim was the worldwide public instruction for progress of art. It was signed in Paris by Prince Albert; Alfred Duke of Edinburgh; Fredrick-William crown Prince of Prussia; Louis Prince of Hesse; Albert Prince Royal of Saxony; Prince Napoleon Jérôme Bonaparte (Napoleon's younger brother); Phillip Comte de Flandre; The Cesarevitch; Nicolas Duc de Leuchtenberg; Oscar Prince of Sweden and Norway; Hubert Prince Royal of Italy; Amadeus Duke of Aosta; Charles-Louis Archduke of Austria; Rainer Archduke of Austria and Frederike Prince of Denmark (The VandA Archives, Cast Courts archive display).

The 'Cast Courts' in the South Kensington Museum (now Victoria and Albert Museum) as an international reference for Delaporte's museum in Paris. (Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

In July 1873 of the Architectural Courts designed by General Henry Scott were opened. The designation of these rooms as 'Architectural Courts' is significant since they contained not only casts of architectural sculpture and ornament but also original works, most notably the early 17th century rood loft from 's-Hertogenbosch (The Netherlands) and it was felt that both 'the original works and the reproductions will gain by this arrangement'.

L: Fitzwilliam Museum Cast Gallery, Cambridge,

R: Plaster casts in the old Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, 1977 (Shanks, 1996)

The Fitzwilliam Cast Gallery in Oxford was integrated into what is known as the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology in 1908, under the auspices of Keepers Sir Arthur J Evans (1884-1908) and D.G. Hogarth (1908-27). The collection was previously held at the University's Department of Classical Archaeology and Art (MacGregor, 2001, p. 50) which had been on view and increasing in size since 1759 (MacGregor, 2001, p. 41). In 1879 Cambridge University officially made Art and Archaeology a section of their Classical Tripos (Waldstein, 1889, p. iv) with the cast

collection providing the practical visual aspects. In 1884 a formal committee for the curation and regular enlargement of the cast collection was established and a catalogue published in 1889. This stated that the museum of archaeology was to be a physical experience in the history of Greek art showcasing the development of Greek sculpture (Waldstein, 1889, p. v). In 1894 Arthur Evans could hold his lectures surrounded by a gallery of archaeological casts that generated a nucleus for the propagation of archaeological study (MacGregor, 2001, p. 58). The collection now contains some nine hundred plaster casts dating from the 18th and 19th centuries contained in a purpose built gallery (1961). It is interesting to see that the late Ashmolean museum refurbishment of 2010 has placed the items displayed in their cast gallery back in its original role of stand-in for the original sculpture, which in many cases is now in worse condition that its plaster representatives placing the casts in the context of legitimate artefacts (Curator, 2013).

Appendix Twelve

A constructed image of Turkey in the West

"TURKEY LIMITED"

SULTAN—"*BISMILLAH! Make me into a limited company? M'M - AH - S'pose they'll allow me to join the board after allotment.*"

—*Punch* (London), Nov. 28, 1896

Cartoon from Punch Magazine, 1896 (Ref.: http://punch.photoshelter.com/img/pixel.gif)

By the time of Abdül Hamid II's accession in 1876, the Ottomans were internationally portrayed as diplomatically and economically dependent on the Western Great Powers. This 1896 sketch (Punch [London], Nov, 28, 1896) depicts a hapless Hamid finding out via a poster in Istanbul that his empire was being carved up by Russia, France and England. The sketch refers to the weakening of the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the 19th century. This empire, popularly referred to as the "Sick man of Europe" was made into a pretext to re-establish European territories and powers (Deringil, 2001, p. 165).

The portrayal of Ottoman Turkey as "the Sick Man of Europe" was introduced by British Ambassador G.H. Seymour in 1853 and popularised by the *New York Times* in 1860 (Deringil, 2001, p. 165). There were various references to this effect however the British ambassador Stratford de Redcliffe's account to the Earl of Malmesbury summed it up as:

> Europe is at hand, with its science, its labour and its capital. The Koran, harem, a Babel of languages, are no doubt so many obstacles to advancement in a Western sense.

(Gillard, 1856-1875).

In popular culture Britain had displayed an interest in the Near and Middle Eastern Arabic territories for a long while before the first World War. From the mid nineteenth century explorers and pilgrims following the old Crusader routes introduced a romantic idea of the Orient. Sir Richard Frances Burton (1821-1890) whose trip to Mecca in disguise became legendary, had his 'Arabian Nights' (1885) reprinted sixteen times in three years.

Before 1914 the Arabic world saw Britain as a champion for liberal human rights. Once the British took over military rule from the Turks this viewpoint changed from saviour to suppressor. Britain felt that it had to concede rule to Atatürk in Turkey and Reza Khan in Persia since they were considered independent peoples after the Treaty of Lausanne and hoped from they would act as buffer between Europe, Russia and the Middle East. Yet Britain held strict military control over crucial zones such as the Suez Canal and showed no intent to concede. The common British impression was that Near Eastern nations actually approved of occupation and that a revolt here and there was par to the course in this "friendly collaboration". This supposed collaboration actually did exist in the native ruling classes and rich trading circles due to the stability a British administration offered. Once the older collaborative governing generation was replaced by a younger one who had received a Western education they found that their right to a modern democracy was hampered by British occupation. These countries were not free to choose their allegiances, own their country's resources or even to broadcast themselves (Monroe, 1963, pp. 116-210).

The anti-Turkish sentiment was apparent from British agents within the Near East too. Lawrence wrote in his diaries of 1911 an addendum titled "The Changing East"

(1935) (Lawrence, 2005). Apart from his own general depreciative opinion regarding Turkish people he stated that the Ottomans "lopped" Greek and Armenian populations down, and then turned upon the Arabs (Lawrence, 2005, p. 34). He repeatedly wrote of a "Turkish stupidity" and stated that they would imminently cross the Caspian Sea to subsume Turkestan and all other Turk-speaking nations until the Chinese boarders to pose a great threat to Western nations on a global scale (Lawrence, 2005, pp. 80, 114, 115).

Germany had for many years leading up to the first war assiduously pursued Turkey as an ally, which it saw as an important part of the *Drang nach Osten* (The Thrust towards the East: Germany wanted new lands, markets and *lebensraum*) (Haar, 2000). In 1897 Kaiser Wilhelm recognised the importance of the Near East and Russia if, as he saw it, he was to curb Britain's supremacy over Germany (McMeekin, 2010, pp. 15, 91). Once Ottoman Turkey declared bankruptcy in 1875 its economy was under European administration. In order to supplant French and British influence in the Near East, the Berlin to Bagdad express railway was proposed in 1899. German finance and materials were to be used for the specific purpose of 'bringing goods and people to [Asia] via the most direct path from the heart of Germany' (Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, 1899). The original intention was to gain direct access to this region spanning from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf incorporating the Parisian 'Orient Express' at Vienna (McMeekin, 2010, p. 38). The Turkish army was led by German 'advisors', as was much of its trade and commerce. Pushed by Germany - which also tried to encourage a Jihad (Muslim Holy War) against the British forces - Turkey was to strongly resist the British incursion. Initially, Britain set out only to defend the Canal from the Turkish troops that were massed in Palestine. During this phase of operations, actions were also necessary against the Senussi Arabs, who attacked Egypt from the west. Following British victories that pushed the Turks further from the Suez Canal with the support of Arabs in the Hejaz and elsewhere, the British force began to contemplate a push into Palestine. This became additionally important once the attempt on Gallipoli was a recognised failure, and Britain also needed a success in Mesopotamia. Politically, success in Palestine was believed by some to be a less costly way

towards the defeat of Germany than the prolonged conflict at the Western Front (Baker, 1914-1918, p. retreived 02 April 2012).

John Buchan (1875-1940) was British Director of Propaganda during the First World War and initiating the campaign 'The Turk must Go' in 1917. From a British view point the Ottoman Empire had to be portrayed negatively and subdued for fear of a Muslim uprising against Britain both in the Near East and India. A *jihad* against Britain had already been suggested by the Sultan in 1914, a suggestion fully supported by Germany. This did not occur and a push was made to bring Arab leaders into the fray launching a pro-Allied anti-Ottoman revolt. In return they were promised freedom from British interference and their lands back. Therefore the religious confrontational aspect of these operations had to be officially dropped even though they were still very popular with the media. In reality this stance was informally promoted since it united the country in sympathy detracting from the European crisis.

> 15 November 1917. 1.45 pm
>
> NOTICE TO THE PRESS. PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL. (NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR COMMUNICATION)
>
> The attention of the Press is again drawn to the undesirability of publishing any article paragraph or picture suggesting that military operations against Turkey are in any sense a Holy War, a modern Crusade, or have anything whatever to do with religious questions. The British Empire is said to contain a hundred million Mohammedan subjects of the King and it is obviously mischievous to suggest that our quarrel with Turkey is one between Christianity and Islam.

(Public Record Office [PRO], Kew, Notice D.607 (15 December 1917), FO/395/152, no. 218223. The notice was duly incorporated in the Official Press Bureau Instructions; HO/139/19/78).

Anti-Ottoman sentiment in British literature

British official state papers avoided all mention of religion and Jewish affairs in a bid to keep Russian, Arabic and Jewish factions distinct and positive. Despite these guidelines Buchan implied that the Ottoman's ability to allow many religions to co-exist was less than ideal in his novel *Greenmantle* (1916). His main character

Richard Hannay, purports English superiority to other races and characterised the 'Young Turks' – future Kemâlist government – as 'a collection of Jews and Gypsies' (1999, p. 131) denying them any political influence over the disparate Turkish population of the time (Buchan, 1999, p. 147).

John Buchan's 'The Turk Must Go' document (1917) and fiction "Greenmantle" (1916) were inspired by the 'The Blue Book' – officially titled "The treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire 1915 – 1916" produced for the British War Propaganda Bureau by Viscount J Bryce, British ambassador in America 1907-13 and Arnold J Toynbee, Near East propaganda expert. For European, British and American audiences "The 39 Steps" (1915) implied an undercurrent of general anti-Semitic sentiment with a narrative that played on a the idea that WWI was engineered by Jewish Zionists to secure Palestine utilising British interests in the Near East, suggesting they do this by investigating war between Russia and Germany (which would have suited Britain well), involving Washington's backing. *The Blue Book*, basically a thesis of anti-Turkish propaganda and Buchan's publications suggest a general anti-Semitic stance, not differentiating between Turks and Jews. This was a straightforward denigration the world's ills upon the shoulders of the Near East; even though the Jews were in favour of the abolishment of the Ottoman Caliphate at the time (1917/18) and had followed the Armenian genocide portrayal in *The Blue Book*. The official British stance of 1917 was that the war in Jerusalem against Turkey was not of a religious nature yet this never stopped the press from baptising it as *The New Crusade* empire-wide. After all this situation could be easily read as winning Christian ground back from the Ottoman Muslim. The British nation needed this momentous distraction from the catastrophe of the Western Front.

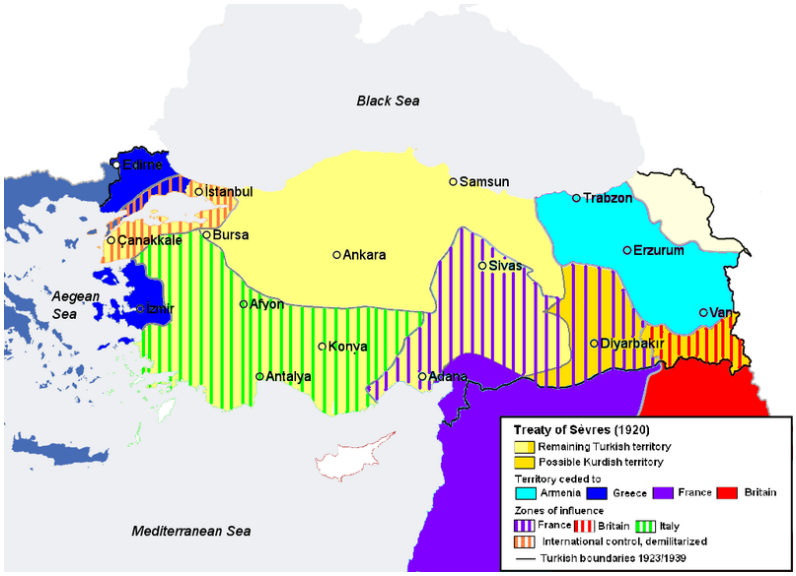
Image 2: Allenby reading the British Proclamation in Jerusalem (Ref.: http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_GHH_Bq8KG0w/SwQTGy6z88I/AAAAAAAAT0E/etA0wTJA66w/s1600/alenbi2.jpg)

The Treaty of Lausanne, 1923

After various meetings between the 20th of November 1922 and the 31st of January 1923 this party assembled at Lausanne in 1923 with the Governments of the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Romania and the Serb-Croat-Slovene state on one side and Turkey on the other to end the war-like state of affairs which had reigned since 1914. The United States was involved in the discussions too inviting Bulgaria and Russia as littoral Powers of the Black Sea to deal with the question of the Straits Canal. The treaty proceeded to establish in detail Turkey's geographical boundaries on all sides with Turkey renouncing all powers and rights over any territories which fell outside these limits. "All rights and privileges which under the Treaty of Lausanne of October 18th, 1912 were left to the Sultan of Turkey in Libya were to remain definitely abolished." (Cabinet, 1923, pp. 3-18).

Atatürk advanced westwards from Anatolia in 1922, challenging the Allied occupation of Istanbul, the Straits and coastline. Britain had to face Atatürk's challenge to power alone since France and America had bowed out after backing the Greeks in an attack on Symrna with devastating consequences (Monroe, 1963, p. 54). Atatürk felt that once he had defeated the Greeks (and by proxy their Allied backers) he had a right to Chanak (Çanakkale), Smyrna (İzmir) and Thracian territories. This challenge annulled the Sévres treaty (Library, 2008), scuppered the

plans for a tripartite division (British, French and Italian, 1919) of Ottoman territories and the Treat of Lausanne had to be drawn up (Monroe, 1963, pp. 140-3). In 1923 the Republic of Turkey was established with Atatürk as first president.



Map of partitioning of Ottoman territories following Sevres Treaty 1920 (Ref. http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a0/TreatyOfSevres_%28corrected%29.PNG)

After the 1920s Anglo-Turkish relations improved steadily with Turkey's admission into the League of Nations in July 1932 and the signing of the Anglo-French-Turkish Treaty of October 1939 (Bilgin, 2007, p. 31). It has been extrapolated by some historians that the 1936 deterioration of Turkish-Soviet relations was caused by the terms of the flimsy Mediterranean Pact (July 1936) which followed signs of re-armament from Germany, Italy's designs on Ethiopia and the withdrawal of Japan from the League of Nations. Atatürk was working on friendly collaborations within the region by amending past conflicts – especially with Jordan, Iraq, Iran Afghanistan, Yemen and the Balkans (Balkan Entente, 1934 and Treaty of Saadabad, 1937).

Atatürk was also getting uncomfortable with Germany's and Italy's Fascist interests and sought alignment with Britain. However, after 1938, the focus shifted to neutrality under Atatürk's successor İsmet İnönü (Bilgin, 2007, p. 8) who rejected Britain's offer to turn the Saadabad Pact into a military alliance as Britain seemed to be losing its influence in the region (Bilgin, 2007, pp. 28-30) .This friendly status with Turkey was displayed through a visit to Istanbul by King Edward VIII in September 1936 reciprocated by Inonu staying in London. *The Times* reported positively that:

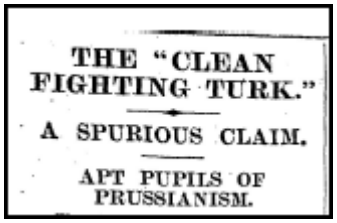
> The King's visit to Turkey, although private, has set the seal on the *rapprochement* with Great Britain. It has obviously given great pleasure to Turks in every walk of life. They are not normally quick in their enthusiasms, but whenever the King has appeared they have given expression to a friendliness which is unquestionably spontaneous and yet have not intruded unduly on his *incognito.*

(*The Times,* 1936b)

The Role of Wellington House prior to 1931

Turkey suffered a substantial degree of negative coverage both in the press and from other printed sources during the 1910s and 20s. The extent, methodology, sources and veracity of this portrayal at the time is still highly disputed now. During 1918 British literature regarding Turkey, the Near and Middle East remained under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Information (Sanders, 1975, p. 128). One

might surmise that the opinion of the Western Christian world during this period leading up to the opening of the 'Aegean and Hittite Collections' gallery was not a positive one. The distinct lack of contextual and contemporary information given within the guidebook to the exhibition, in this case, appears to suggest that the museum did not wish to introduce debatable opinions detracting from the main focus – archaeological knowledge gained by British archaeologists (Allan, 1931).


THE "CLEAN FIGHTING TURK."

A SPURIOUS CLAIM.

APT PUPILS OF PRUSSIANISM.

Image 4: Article appeared in the *The Times* newspaper (Ref: (London, England), Feb 20, 1917, pg. 7) Later published as a pamphlet.

The Bureau was set up in 1914 at Wellington House, London by David Lloyd George. Its establishment was done in retaliation upon discovering that Germany had a Propaganda Agency of its own building up support and directing animosity in preparation of the First World War. Some of the prominent authors and artists recruited into the Bureau's propaganda campaign by C.F.G. Masterman (Sanders, 1975, p. 119). These included Arthur Conan Doyle, Arnold Bennett, Ford Madox Ford, G.K. Chesterton, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, Muirhead Bone, Francis Dodd, William Orpen, William Rothenstein and H.G. Wells. They published thousands of illustrated pamphlets, books and articles promoting the British Government's political agendas. In 1915 John Buchan was made Second Lieutenant in the Intelligence Corps and produced monthly magazine publishing the war in 23 instalments (Sanders, 1975, p. 123).

Paul Nash was also recruited by the Bureau in 1917 and sent to France with various others to depict the home front strictly to the propaganda campaign's requirements. Many complained however a natural sense of allegiance left them no choice (Sanders, 1975, p. 136). By 1917 John Buchan was made Lieutenant-Colonel and ran the newly formed Department of Information controlling books, pamphlets, photographs, war art, telegraphic communications, broadcasting,

cinema and popular media such as newspapers and magazines. In 1918 Lord Beaverbrook who owned the Daily Express was made Minister of Information with Buchan as his Director of Intelligence due to no other willing candidates for the post (Sanders, 1975, p. 119). Lord Northcliffe, who owned *The Times* and the *Daily Mail*, was in charge of pejorative propaganda aimed at enemies while Robert Donald who owned the Daily Chronicle was in charge of generating propaganda aimed at winning the support of neutral nations (Neutral Press Committee) including the United States (Taylor, 1999, p. 35). Another propaganda bureau was established in 1914 called the *News Department* which was responsible for censorship and the effective dissemination of news and propaganda within the borders of allied, neutral and enemy countries (Sanders, 1975, p. 122).

Prior to 1914 Turkey held an oscillating opinion with the British public. They were portrayed as evil during the conflict with Bulgaria (1876) and then supported as 'the clean-fighting Turk' when Russia invaded Ottoman territories (1903). However by 1914 Britain needed to create popular leverage against the Central Powers hoping that the United States would ally themselves to them. The US already disliked Russia due to its treatment of Jews in 1915 (Malamat and Ben-Sasson, 1976, p. 889) however they were playing a positive role during this time against Germany. So Wellington House published literature stating that Turkey was about to join forces with the Germans, and using Jewish fears as a crux they established that since Turkey was Muslim and thoroughly non-Western they were a significant enemy which would pose great danger to the West if unchecked.

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